



## The Race To Annihilation



Former  
government  
officials join with  
Physicians for  
Social  
Responsibility in  
opposing nuclear  
escalation.

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### **Exclusive Report**

**POLAND: Solidarity and  
Communist Party activists  
talk about democracy  
and socialism.**

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# THE INSIDE STORY



Charlton Heston heads the president's task force on arts and humanities funding.

## Small sighs of relief at the Endowments

By Pat Aufderheide

For a while it looked like when-someone-says-culture-I-reach-for-my-revolver time for the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities. The administration had recommended 50 percent budget cuts for the coming year, threatened to take back more than \$30 million of this year's money (including money already granted) and established a task force to increase private and corporate support but whose secret mission, it was rumored, was to destroy the Endowments by imposing an unworkable oversight structure.

Suddenly the Endowments have become an area of tentative victories. Congress has suggested appropriations dramatically higher than the administration suggested; rescission demands have been cut by four-fifths and even these may not be approved in Congress; and the task force has rejected its chairman's suggested structure and with it the secret mission.

The pattern of scare and back off in confusion is beginning to look familiar. Here, as elsewhere, the simple failure to find someone who would wield the axe was responsible for some backing off. Part of the credit also goes to an unprecedented political mobilization of grassroots recipients of government funds to the arts. But the irritation of a philanthropic Old Guard with the Hollywood-bred crassness of the administration's approach to the arts has been at least equally important.

"In a perverse way, the rescission threat has been a boon to arts groups," said Larry Sapadin, president of Association of Independent Film and Videomakers. NEA and NEH funding has made possible a burgeoning proliferation of local, often socially-challenging populist arts projects, especially in media. When next year's budget cuts were announced it became clear that the often-understaffed and small new groups would be the first affected. A few defense groups formed; for instance the National Humanities Alliance, now linking 40 national membership groups, organized in March around the budget cut threat. But by and large it took rescission—meaning denial of money already granted and on the strength of which many groups had

borrowed money and begun projects—to galvanize recipients.

In May a flurry of coalitions protested cutbacks and organized letter and telegram campaigns to legislators. In New York 70 organizations coordinated by the AIVF held a press conference on May 7. Exhibitors, unions, museums, galleries and arts lawyers were included. On May 29 a different set of groups including the Media Alliance, industry unions and some theatrical management organizations met to discuss actions at Actors Equity, which continues to rally workers in the arts nationally. Demonstrations were held, including one on May 28 led by District 1199 of the Hospital and Health Care Workers, the union with the celebrated Bread and Roses cultural program. Several New York coalitions are now working together for a giant July 18 rally in support of government funding for the arts.

Although New York, undisputed center for the arts, is also the most visible center for protest, networking has gone on nationally. The Neighborhood Arts Programs National Organizing Committee, which represents several hundred grassroots arts groups in support of "cultural democracy," has provided its members with information and arguments in defense of their programs. The national Alliance of Media Arts Centers, which links some 110 film and video groups nationally, has taken similar action. Chair Robert Haller estimates that more than a thousand letters and telegrams have gone out as a result of information NAMAC provided in one of its alert programs.

Arts groups have also been busy at a state level—a key area given the importance of state boards for the Endowments and the administration's push for decentralization. For instance, the Keep the Arts Alive! Coalition, organized by the eight-year-old Chicago Artists Coalition, mobilized Illinois artists against the cutbacks. Further, in mid-May, a state organization to lobby for Illinois arts emerged from a Chicago conference on "Arts in the '80s" attended by 260 people.

"The crisis is making people become Americans again, forcing them to take an interest in their government," said Arlene Rakonca of the Chicago Artists Coalition. She noted the eager response of many people at art fairs to the information the Coalition provides on the cutbacks.

Haller comments that public pressure is effective "because the arts are very popular and very cheap." For an "insignificant" amount of cultural dollars a representative can please a lot of constituents. Further, now for the first time there exists a non-partisan Congressional Arts Caucus, chaired by Rep. Fred Richmond (D-NY), involving some 140 Congressmen.

Humanities grants recipients have been less vocal than artists. The reason, one Humanities Endowment official suggested, is that artists tend to organize in groups whose primary objective is producing arts, while humanities grants usually go either to individuals or to institutions whose main objectives are not involved with the funded projects. Arts are concerned with creating a product or performance, while humanities projects, concerned with the transmission of ideas, may not result in something so tangible.

### Please, no street dances.

The administration is not so easily wooed as Congress by letters and telegrams. Apparently the strongest single factor in cutting the suggested rescission was the sound of Charlton Heston yelling.

Heston, who Reagan appointed to head the President's Task Force on the Arts and Humanities, seemed to be a perfect choice. Trained in a trade that mixes art

and profit, he also had a firm anti-populist stance, as he made clear in a recent *Washington Post* interview: "Because a program of street dancing is perceived to be good doesn't necessarily mean it should be funded by the NEA. Because an undertaking in community history is perceived to be a good idea and a useful thing doesn't necessarily mean it should be funded by NEH." He had wanted the Expansion Arts program, which funds new neighborhood and ethnic projects, to be part of the then-HEW. In other words, art with a non-middle class audience is either social service or it should be run at a profit.

But then Heston discovered that one of the agencies whose funds would be cut this year was his own American Film Institute. Even more painful was the delicate reminder from the NEA that if rescission went through it would be Heston's own task force that would have to manage the ensuing chaos. Shortly after Heston hit the ceiling the administration came up with a \$6.65 million suggested rescission—some say to placate the OMB, where Stockman adamantly opposes all government involvement in arts and humanities.

That position is an embattled one, not just because of hundreds of angry grassroots organizations. The Stockman position is opposed by the so-called "Rockefeller wing" or "Wall Street wing" of the new task force—those Republicans and corporate officials who may have as little patience with street dancing or oral history as Heston but who sit on the boards of major operas, symphonies and museums. Among the board members are officials of Mobil Oil, Standard Oil of Indiana, Coors and administrators of major arts centers, as well as ex-NEA head Nancy Hanks, whose last-minute appointment is seen as a victory for the board-sitters.

They know what the administration would love to ignore—that government funding has leveraged unprecedented amounts of private money. Eight private dollars are raised for every federal arts dollar; the ratio is around three-to-one in the humanities. The Endowments get part of the credit for raising corporate giving to the arts to more than 13 percent of all its philanthropic giving, up from 8.9 percent in 1970.

When the task force met on June 15, members came ready to work. Some came armed with research. Nancy (Mrs. Zubin) Mehta gave a point-by-point recital of tax law changes that would be necessary to increase corporate giving. Franklin Murphy, chair of the *Los Angeles Times-Mirror* Corporation, also discussed tax law. W. Barnabas McHenry, counsel for the *Reader's Digest*, had cannily suggested that members meet individually with staff members before the Labor Day deadline for a proposal; this would have left the staff free to design a weak substitute structure for the Endowments. But members quickly rejected the plan, protesting they would be "captives of the staff." Hanna Gray, president of the University of Chicago and the third member of the task force's coordinating board, reassured members, "This is going to be a debating society, not an endorsing society."

That clash between the high-culture guardians and the art-for-money's-sake people may have spin-off benefits for the populist programs the Endowments sponsor. Expansion Arts grants, for instance, are no longer endangered for this year, although writers fellowships still may be. But the "cultural democracy" argument is still the least well defended of the Endowments' services.

The real task of those who benefit from the NEA and NEH's expanded definition of their mandates is

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## IN THESE TIMES

# Chicago transit: the victims pay

By David Moberg

**H**ERE'S WHAT POLITICS HAS come to in the age of Reagan: rural and suburban Illinois legislators parading about in funny military hats, proposing appropriations for war with the nation's second largest city. They were reacting to prominent columnist Mike Royko, who labeled them hicks, hillbillies and "boobkins" (an amalgam of a boob and a bumpkin) and proposed that Chicago secede from the state. Royko captured the city's anger at the legislature's refusal to grant some state aid to keep public transit from collapsing in a metropolitan area that includes two-thirds of the people in Illinois, and the legislators reflected their constituents' distaste for helping big-city blacks and unionized workers.

It's not that Reagan himself is the problem, although his proposal to phase

Sept. 30 of around \$128 million out of an \$853 million budget, most of which goes to reimburse operating deficits in all the transit systems in the region. If there isn't a quick bailout, the CTA, the nation's second largest transit system, will grind to a halt in early July. Without a long-term plan, the RTA deficit would grow to \$448 million by 1985 according to current trends.

Nobody is unequivocally responsible for the fate of regional transit, as there is no regional government, and nobody is providing persuasive leadership. Mass transit has fallen victim to a political crossfire between Republican conservatives and moderate Democrats—and between Chicago and the suburbs and "downstate." There are overtones of class and race hostility, rampant parochialism at the expense of the general welfare and neglect of long-range planning in favor of short-term political and economic gain. In the spirit of Reaganism, there has been an abdication of pub-

RTA's original mandate was specifically to stabilize fares and services to hold riders and do whatever else was necessary to "bring people out of their cars." Federal operating subsidies, authorized by 1974 mass transit legislation, reflected a new awareness that one way to reduce dependence on imported, higher-priced oil was to encourage mass transit.

"Now it's the reverse philosophy," CTA official Stephen Schlickman said. "They're saying the user is not paying his share. The tide is shifting." The shifting tide has shown in Illinois as downstate and suburban legislators, as well as their constituents, ask: Why can't Chicagoans pay for their own transit system? Why should we subsidize the best-paid transit workers in the country, people who can make \$25,000 a year after three years on the job?

The answers have been varied but rarely advanced effectively. Even if we discount the debts, inefficiencies and weak finances inherited by public transportation from its private owners, which are hardly the responsibility of the riders, there are reasons why non-riders should help support public transportation. (There are also good reasons for riders to pay some fixed part of operating costs, combining market and planning forces rather than relying on one alone). Auto drivers benefit in particular, since transit keeps the roads a little freer for their use. Everyone's air benefits from lessened pollution. Infrequent riders have the benefit of access to a system that must be maintained despite their sporadic payments. Good public transit also provides a small measure of social equity, making it possible for the young, the old and the poor to move about and freeing moderate income homes from the expense of multiple cars.

Businesses benefit from the ease of employees, clients, shoppers and others getting to work or spending their money. A good transit system can attract businesses, just as a declining one can drive them away, as New York is now discovering. By strengthening the economy of the central city, the entire region benefits, especially suburbanites traveling into the city for jobs. "Without a healthy transit system the health and growth of the region is jeopardized," argues Larry Christmas, executive director of the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. And by reducing oil consumption, the national economy is strengthened as well.

More narrowly, supporters of aid to Chicago's transit system note that it is the only one in the country that receives no state subsidy, even though every other transit system in the state receives one-third of its operating expenses. (State subsidies in other cities range all over the board—28 percent in Detroit, 31 percent in New York, 54 percent in Boston—but average at least 20 percent.) That arrangement is partly the fault of Mayor Jane Byrne, who in 1979 struck a deal with Republican Gov. James Thompson, who plays the liberal when no money is involved but bases his future on the anti-tax, anti-government sentiment of the new rich suburbs and rural areas. As part of an agreement to drop the Crosstown Expressway and reallocate federal highway funds, the RTA gave up its portion of the state gasoline tax and the Public Transportation Fund subsidy in favor of a regional sales tax. But partly because of economic recession, partly because of bad calculations by Byrne's advisors, the regional sales tax has provided less revenue than the old revenue sources which in themselves would have been inadequate.

The change in financial support also made the RTA less flexible by tying expenditure of funds even more closely to the county where the tax was collected. This division reflected the internal rancor and factionalism that has continually

plagued the RTA as the suburbs claim that they don't get their fair share of the money. But the CTA is used even by suburbanites, and many return suburban commuter trips originating in the Loop are counted as Chicago trips (and thus inflate the proportion of subsidy seen as going to the city), even though suburbanites benefit. The CTA represents 86 percent of the region's ridership and thus its subsidy is the greatest, but proportionately suburban buses pay less of their costs out of fares and by far the highest subsidy per ride goes to relatively well-to-do suburban rail commuters (\$1.25 deficit per ride compared to 48 cents deficit per ride on the CTA).

It would be great if politicians, and other people, thought in more public-minded, systematic terms, realizing the importance of the links among regions and recognizing the equity of progressive taxation. But in a tight economy and in the mean-spirited age of Reagan that is not likely.

**City transit users get smaller subsidies than suburbans and will end up paying more.**

State legislators face competition and political risks in 1982 as a result of redistricting. In the Illinois House, they also face a consolidation of three-member districts into one-member districts. Consequently, most of them are afraid to pass any tax.

Thompson originally proposed a 5 percent tax on oil company sales, but he got no support from fellow Republicans. Some Democrats embraced the tax but were suspicious of other parts of Thompson's plan that would transfer power over regional transit to the suburbs and the governor. The central Republican, especially suburban, ploy at the heart of the stalemate is stalling on financial aid and threatening CTA shutdown in order to force wage and service cuts as well as to gain suburban control of metropolitan transit. Though the population has shifted in their favor, with four million of the seven million inhabitants in the region now in suburbs, the city has a far greater stake in and use of mass transit.

Later Thompson proposed an increase in the state sales, liquor and cigaret taxes, but the vast majority of the funds would go for downstate roads and Chicago area transit would get less than it needs even for this year's deficit. In frustration, Mayor Byrne has been threatening to have Chicago take over the CTA, which is now an independent entity, and fund it with a new tax on professional services.

As the deadline draws near, it appears ever more likely that whatever tax support is passed will fall on Chicago's working poor. With scare talk about the state's "bad business climate," corporations have beat back any efforts to force businesses to assume a reasonable financial responsibility for a system that benefits them. And an increased motor fuel tax, which also has the logic of discouraging auto use in favor of transit, seems doomed by opposition from auto-dependent rural and suburban areas. CTA fares, at 80 cents for the base ride the highest in the country, are certain to reach \$1 soon, service will probably be cut back, and premium fares for express service will be instituted. Suburban pressure to cut CTA wages will continue, even though in their last contract workers lost their full cost-of-living protection in favor of a formula that recovers less than 60 percent of inflation-eroded earnings. ■



out all federal operating assistance to mass transit will exacerbate the financial plight faced by Chicago, along with New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, and many other cities, including smaller, sunbelt locations such as Birmingham, Ala., where public transportation has already shut down.

But Reagan's victory and the spirit of his administration are symptomatic of the same crisis of political responsibility that has kept riders on Chicago Transit Authority and various commuter railroads wondering how they will get to work and has already resulted in shutdowns of several suburban bus lines.

The immediate problem is covering the deficit in the budget of the Regional Transportation Authority, a relatively weak and controversial agency established in 1974 to coordinate public transit in Chicago, the suburban portions of Cook County and the five "collar counties" surrounding the city. The RTA anticipates a deficit in the fiscal year ending

lic action, even to the extent of undermining the basic infrastructure on which the economic future of the state and region depends, and a search to shift costs toward those least able to pay.

Until the mid-sixties, public transit operating revenues met operating expenses nationwide. But by the early '70s a net operating loss rapidly widened year after year. Partly that reflected rising fuel costs. More generally, labor costs—which make up 80 percent of the operating costs of a system such as Chicago's—rose rapidly with inflation, especially as many transit workers had strong cost-of-living clauses in their contracts.

Most transit systems, however, did not try to increase fares to match costs. Partly that was because the system managers recognized that in general a 10 percent increase in fares resulted in a 3 percent loss in riders—and thus little, often no, net gain. But there was an increasing recognition as well that maintaining low transit fares served the public interest. The

Steve Kagan



# IN SHORT

## Phase Three

More than 600 people who are now or have ever been worried about government attacks on civil liberties gathered on June 16 in Chicago's Pick Congress Hotel for "an evening in defense of democratic rights in the '80s." Similar events were held in several other cities, from Northampton, Mass., to Los Angeles, all under the banner of "No More Witch Hunts!" New York had a big bash that drew some 1,500 to an afternoon "resistance information fair" and an evening of speeches and performances by Holly Near, Judge Bruce Wright, Susan Sarandon, Richard Dreyfuss and others; appropriately, the emcee was Michael Meeropol, whose parents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, were executed as traitors exactly 28 years earlier. Chicago's meeting was smaller than New York's but the speakers—including Steelworkers District 31 director Jim Balanoff, Chicago congressman Harold Washington and Claire Wolfe of the National Council of Jewish Women—addressed a common worry: Is '50s-style McCarthyism coming back under Reagan & Co?

It's just another phase they're going through, argued Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation* and author of *Naming Names*, a book that deals with Hollywood's brand of McCarthyism. "As I see it," Navasky said during the evening's main speech, "the investigative committees of the '50s were only Phase One of a continuing repression. As civil libertarians hailed the demise of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Committee, they were celebrating a pyrrhic victory. For in fact, that was the precise moment, we discovered many years later, that the FBI was undertaking Phase Two... COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program): They were visiting direct, violent, illegal punishment on their ideological enemies where the congressional committees had done it indirectly and, as it were, nonviolently." Now, said Navasky, we're headed into Phase Three, "which involves the attempt to make legitimate that which was previously illegitimate—to do overground that which the FBI used to do underground." Presumably, the Reagan administration's executive order to lift restrictions on domestic spying and disruption by the CIA and the FBI, along with pending legislation that would exempt those two agencies from the disclosure requirements of the Freedom of Information Act, is part of such an attempt. Phase Four, which Navasky projected to occur "when and if the Reagan economic program fails," will be the scapegoating of "those responsible for the progressive agenda of the '60s—affirmative action, gay rights, feminism, the anti-war movement, you name them."

## Crisis in Detroit

On June 23, Detroit's voters took the first step of a proposed three-step plan for rescuing their city from its present fiscal crisis. By a margin of about 60-40, they endorsed a 1 percent increase in municipal income tax rates for residents (from 2 to 3 percent) and workers who commute into the city (from one-half percent to 1½ percent). The tax jump is expected to raise some \$100 million. Now all Detroit mayor Coleman A. Young has to do is sell \$125 million in municipal bonds to commercial banks and friendly union pension funds, as well as get city workers to follow the cops' lead in agreeing to long-term wage freezes. (There could have been another source of revenue in the form of a 1 percent tax increase for corporations based in Detroit, but Mayor Young reportedly nixed the idea.) By August 15, Young must be able to convince an "administrative board" of state officials that this three-pronged scheme will balance his city's budget as specified by state legislation. Otherwise, no municipal tax hikes, no bond sale, no relief from Detroit's fiscal predicament.

## Mobile missile-makers

Here are three of the government-relations practices most favored by eight of the top 10 military contractors, as revealed by a recent report from the Council on Economic Priorities:

- Each company pays lots of money to lobby Congress and stay friendly with the White House, and charges much of this expenditure to its government contracts—a bill ultimately paid by the taxpayer.
- There's lots of moving back and forth between the companies, the Department of Defense and the Pentagon.
- Each firm holds memberships in key trade associations that reinforce its political influence with the government.

For more information, write to the Council at 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

—Josh Kornbluth



Pratt & Whitney workers, after getting the bad news.

## Business was going well, so they split the workforce

Five months after landing what United Technologies Corp. president Harry Gray called "the two largest awards for commercial jet engines in aviation history," business is booming at UTC's Pratt & Whitney Aircraft.

So how do you explain what workers there call the "Memorial Day Massacre," the unexpected layoff in late May that put 950 of the company's Connecticut employees out of work? It followed by about two months the firing of another 590 P&WA employees in the state.

The company says the layoffs are the result of a temporary slump in the commercial aircraft engine industry. But Lou Kiefer, a district organizer for the International Association of Machinists, which represents most of the laid-off workers, calls this explanation "a ruse."

Whatever the immediate cause for the firings, Kiefer and other industry watchers believe these Connecticut workers are victims of P&WA's long-range plan for "parallel production."

"What the company is doing, and they're not alone," says economist Barry Bluestone, who has just completed a major study of New England's aircraft industry and who directs the Social Welfare Research Institute in Boston, "they've learned that one of the best things they can do is guarantee on-time delivery" of its engines. As a result the company is "trying to insure there won't be disruption by their own workers through strikes" by having employees in different parts of the country build the same engine parts.

"The effect, of course, is to weaken the trade unions," says Bluestone, as parallel production allows the company to "play one group of workers against another."

In 1978, for example, P&WA—with the help of a series of tax concessions approved by the Maine legislature meeting in special session—converted an 825,000-square-foot supermarket warehouse in

North Berwick, Maine, into a jet engine part production plant, where they make many of the same parts also made in Connecticut. About 1,200 employees now work at the non-union plant.

"Obviously," says Bluestone, "if they hadn't put up that plant it would have been 1,200 jobs they could have kept in North Haven or Southington or East Hartford."

And because workers at the Maine plant aren't organized, Kiefer notes, "they can control a workforce that has never been exposed to collective bargaining and workers who are used to earning no more than potato picking pays."

P&WA also recently announced it is planning to build a new 300,000-square-foot plant in Columbus, Ga., which should employ about 800 people when it opens in late 1983. The company said the plant is needed because of a surge in engine orders, and it emphasized that current employees' jobs would not be jeopardized.

That's one of the reasons why people were so surprised at the recent layoffs in Connecticut—the business was looking so good.

According to the company, however, major new orders totalling more than \$1 billion for the popular new PW 2037 engine won't produce jobs for another year or so as the engine still has to go through tests and get Federal Aviation Administration approval before it can be manufactured. Meanwhile, a company spokesman noted, unspecified orders for older engine models have been cancelled by airlines more interested in the fuel efficiency of the newer model.

"In a way," says David Gold, director of Military Research for the Council on Economic Priorities, which keeps an eye on P&WA, "the company is like a rich man without any cash. But on the other hand, I would not characterize it as a slump, but rather a pause. And I don't think it alone warrants such massive layoffs. The union-busting strategy wouldn't surprise me at all."

—David Lieberman

## Court bestows mixed rulings

The Supreme Court has given workers one reason to rejoice and one reason to mourn with its recent decisions on occupational safety and health and on plant closings.

The Court rejected, five to three, the argument of the textile industry that the standards issued in 1978 for protection of workers against cotton dust that causes "brown lung" disease cost industry too much to implement when weighed against the benefits to workers' health. "When Congress passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act in 1970, it chose to place pre-eminent value on assuring employees a safe and healthful environment, limited only by the feasibility of achieving such an environment," Justice William J. Brennan wrote in the majority opinion.

Eric Frumin, safety and health director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, said that the decision was a "total victory" that actually forbids the use of cost-benefit analyses. Feasibility analysis, which is required by the law and upheld by the Court, means that employers must use the "most protective" standards that can be achieved on an industry-wide basis without putting the industry out of business, Frumin says: "What can be done must be done."

The Reagan administration had planned to review and weaken many occupational health and safety standards through cost-benefit analysis. It had even asked to withdraw the Labor Department's case against the textile industry and return the case to the Labor Department for review in order to avoid precisely the kind of interpretation the Court issued.

OSHA standards can still be threatened by legislative action, such as the Regulatory Reform Act (S. 1080), introduced by Sen. Paul Laxalt (R.-Nev.), which would require cost-benefit analyses and thus reverse the meaning of the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act.

The Court, however, weakened workers' rights to fight plant closings when it decided 7 to 2 that employers are not obligated to bargain with workers and their union over the partial closing of a business. In 1965 the Court had ruled that there was no requirement to bargain over a total shutdown, but the National Labor Relations Board had ruled in the case of First National Maintenance Corp. of New York that a partial closing was one of the "terms and conditions of employment" that are legally protected bargaining rights. Appeals Court decisions had sustained that viewpoint in the Northeast, and those decisions were also applied by appellate courts in the Midwest. In overturning those decisions, the Supreme Court said that workers would have to include advance protection against partial closings, such as requirement of notification, in their contracts.

But Staughton Lynd, an attorney active in plant-closing cases in Youngstown, Ohio, said that if the Court's decision means that employers are not required to bargain over partial plant closings, then workers who strike to secure protection against possible closings in their contracts may be considered guilty of an unfair labor practice.

—David Moberg



# IN THE NATION

## DAMAGE SUIT

# Witnesses anger judge in SWP case

By Elizabeth Weiner

NEW YORK

**T**HE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY wrapped up its case in U.S. District Court here on May 29, after two months of testimony by SWP leaders, victims of FBI harassment, and government agents in the prosecution of their \$40 million suit against the government. While much testimony spoke to the damages aspect of the suit, documenting a 35-year history of disruption of the Trotskyist party, other testimony was aimed at delving into the nature of "thought" control laws, such as the Voorhis Act and immigration regulations that restrict political activity. In the end, the concepts of subversion, national security and "inherent power" of the president has also emerged as defendants in this trial.

An early witness, special FBI agent Charles E. Mandigo, unintentionally contributed to discrediting the government's position on each of these counts. In his first appearance before the court in mid-April, Mandigo submitted a "secret affidavit" about alleged illegal party activities. Revealing the contents of the affidavit, he said, would violate national security.

Judge Thomas P. Griesa, who has presided over the trial since it began eight years ago, at first rejected the secret document. But the SWP lawyers pressed him to read the documents, so that the so-called evidence might be minimized in the judge's considerations. The trial is being conducted without a jury.

Despite Mandigo's grandstanding with the secret affidavit, the FBI agent succeeded, in two different appearances, to infuriate Griesa. During the first examination, the judge asked Mandigo, "What would you be looking for? Would you be looking for any specific acts as distinct from just ideas if you were conducting an investigation?"

"Well, this directive was to conduct strictly intelligence investigations of subversive activities....," Mandigo said.

The judge pressed Mandigo for specifics. "Are you trying to convey to me that the investigation wasn't related to activity?" he asked.

"We are dealing with a very complex problem here....," the witness began. "That has nothing whatsoever to do with my question. Was the FBI interested in finding out if certain types of activity were engaged in? If so, what? I've asked you five times and you won't answer," the judge snapped.

A month later, Mandigo led the Voorhis Act to its final resting place as a major government defense. The act, passed in 1941, outlaws association with the Fourth International and other foreign socialist or communist organizations. After more Mandigo testimony, the judge was moved to say: "Nobody would contend that you have a 40-year-long surveillance of the SWP and the YSA in order to determine whether they violated the Voorhis Act or the Foreign Agents Registration Act. It is quite clear that the FBI didn't have the slightest interest in those subjects.... I would like to have somebody from the FBI get up on the stand and tell me that

the reason why they hired all these informants and engaged in all these COINTELPRO activities and had all these millions of sheets of paper developed and spent all this money was to determine whether anybody should be prosecuted for violation of the Voorhis Act. You know perfectly well that wasn't the case."

When Robert Keuch, Associate Deputy Attorney General, took the stand on May 21, the court looked forward to some authoritative answers to the questions Mandigo had flubbed. Keuch had a thorough understanding of the history of intelligence operations and was cooperative, almost deferential.

Conceding that the investigation of the SWP was not based on any illegal activity, Keuch said the 35-year-old investigation of the party was authorized by the inherent powers of the President, as laid out in the Constitution. Citing a 1972 Supreme Court decision known as the Keith case, Keuch read: "the President of the United States has the duty under Article 2 of the Constitution to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution.... Implicit in that duty is the power to protect our government against those who would subvert or overthrow it by unlawful means." All legislation

"just expands on that," he added.

Further confirmation of the political nature of the government's campaign against party came on April 30 with the testimony of Glenn A. Bertness, acting associate commissioner for enforcement of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Bertness told the court that although the SWP had been removed from a list of "proscribed" organizations in 1966, it was once again under review for that category. Proscription means that aliens who are members of such organization may be barred from the U.S. Under examination by an SWP attorney, it was revealed that the reclassification had come about as a direct result of the suit against the government.

Finally, Judge Griesa ruled on May 25, not to allow the secret affidavit into the record. His decision was a blow to the government, which, however, can appeal his final verdict on the grounds that refusal of the affidavit may have denied them their best defense. SWP spokesmen think such an appeal is unlikely.

Now it's the Government's turn to call witnesses. The line-up includes former Attorneys General, expert witnesses on COINTELPRO activities and other government officials.



Acting Immigration and Naturalization Commissioner testifying at the trial of the government, which is being sued for illegal harassment and disruption by the Socialist Workers Party.

## OPPOSING KOCH

# Mary Codd joins the race

By Eric Nadler

NEW YORK

**W**HEN PRINCE CHARLES visited New York City last week, Mayor Edward I. Koch quipped to reporters that he was not used to talking to royalty. Yet as the Mayor spoke, key segments of the city's political and journalistic establishments proceeded with plans to anoint the ambitious one-term Democrat as King of the Big Apple.

On the political front, the city's Republican leaders as expected announced their support of Koch's candidacy, thus making the one-time liberal the certain GOP nominee (there is a September primary, but that is regarded as a formality). And the city's Liberal Party, a long-time Koch foe, announced it had selected first-term Democratic City Councilwoman Mary Codd as its standard-bearer in the November general contest. Codd, 53, a former public school history teacher from Staten Island, is a virtual political unknown. While good on the issues, she is given no chance to beat Koch or to attract significant backing. Indeed, her candidacy has angered some left-wing and liberal Democratic opponents of the Mayor who feel that it will drain momentum and support away from the long-shot challenge of Brooklyn Assemblyman Frank Barbaro in the Democratic primary September 10 (ITT, June 1).

"I am sorry, very sorry, that there

wasn't more substantial efforts made by the Liberal Party to work with the various progressive forces that are uniting behind Frank Barbaro," said Ruth Messinger, Codd's colleague on the City Council. Messinger has not formally endorsed Barbaro but is expected to do so shortly.



New York City council member Mary Codd has accepted the Liberal Party nomination.

For their part, the Liberals have played byzantine electoral games for years. (The party's support of Jacob Javits last year is why Alfonse D'Amato is in the Senate now instead of Elizabeth Holtzman.)

"As a person who believes in democracy and who has taught history, I believe that if you don't have opposition, and you don't have two strong parties, then you are in trouble," said Codd. She insists she didn't seek the Liberal nod, but that Party leaders came to her after they decided not to support Barbaro. She is giving up her seat in the City Council to make the race.

Liberal Party officials says they don't like Barbaro's left-wing endorsements, specifically from the New Alliance Party and the Black United Front, vocal Koch critics who claim to represent poor and working class constituencies. Fear of the left is an old Liberal Party tradition begun in the '50s by Liberal Party leader Alex Rose.

But privately some political observers believe the Liberals' endorsement of Codd signals a rapprochement with Koch. "They are taking a dive to show the Mayor they are not part of the loyal opposition, anymore," said one Democratic leader who asked not to be identified. In return, the scenario goes, a grateful Koch, the most popular mayor the city has ever had, might endorse the Liberals' old friend Gov. Hugh Carey in his bid for re-election next year.

The Liberal decision to take the lone road is part of the collapse of attempts to form a united opposition to Koch. The

Coalition for a Mayoral Choice, headed by labor lawyer Theodore Kheel, unsuccessfully sought candidates for months and has now disbanded.

"Many people we thought as possible candidates just didn't want to be saddled with a defeat that didn't bring any credibility with it," said Norman Adler, political action director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the city's largest public workers' union.

The union, hard-hit by Koch's retrenchment policies, is not lighting any fires under the Barbaro candidacy. Three AFSCME locals have endorsed him, but a recent poll of union political activists and prime voters reveals no strong sentiment for the ex-longshoreman, says Adler. The union believes it is pointless to back a certain loser.

"A lot of people here just don't see Barbaro as a viable candidate," said Adler. "It is felt that we should spend our limited resources on races where we could make a difference...let's face it, this union is not Don Quixote. We're not gonna tilt at windmills."

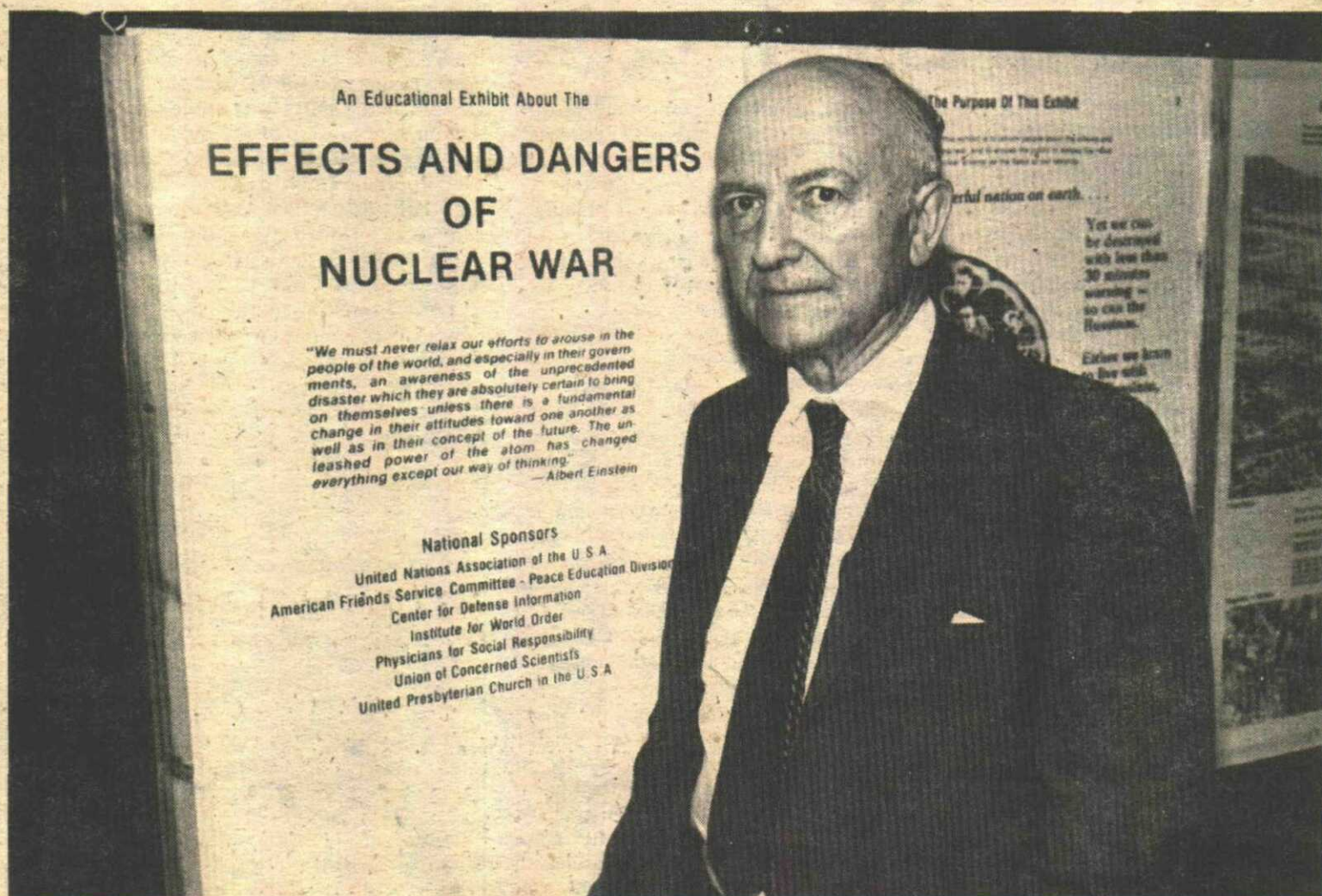
As all this was going on, an ebullient Koch appeared at a Republican fundraiser at which Richard Nixon received the biggest cheers since his fall from grace. Koch felt so cocky he told reporters that Nixon had "suffered enough." Hizzoner was also featured on the June 15 cover of *Time* which lauded him for single-handedly turning the city's economy around, a point that remains highly debatable. The piece appeared the day before Koch announced for re-election and prompted some skeptical members of the City Hall press corps to wonder (not in print) if such coverage had anything to do with the fact that a *Time* Inc. subsidiary is under consideration for a lucrative cable television contract in Queens.

Eric Nadler works for Soho News.



## ARMS RACE

# Reagan's nuclear war plans cause growing popular fallout



There is growing recognition that a new generation of nuclear weapons will bring the world to the brink of war.

By John Judis

**T**HE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION is beginning to fall out of favor with the nation's opinion makers. The cause is not its "voodoo economics," but its defense policy, which is seen as a danger both to the economy's solvency and the future of the planet. In the last two months, the signs of disenchantment in high places have multiplied:

- The *New York Review of Books*, *New York Times*, *Atlantic Monthly* and *Newsweek* published articles highly critical of Reagan's proposal to increase defense spending \$189.5 billion over the next five years.

- CBS television produced a five-part series on "The Nation's Defense" that challenged the administration's commitment to limited nuclear war, increased quantities of armaments without any special concern for quality, and confrontation with the Soviet Union.

- Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, appearing before a noticeably friendly *Meet the Press* panel, uncharacteristically tore into the Reagan administration's actions in the Mideast, China, and toward the Soviet Union, describing them as having emanated from a "posture rather than a policy."

This pattern of disillusionment, beginning with the major media and working its way downward to the general populace, repeats what occurred during the first year of the Carter administration. But there are signs that the Reagan defense policies are also arousing popular opposition.

Physicians for Social Responsibility

(PSR), an anti-nuclear war group that was begun in 1962 during the nuclear test ban controversy but had lain dormant ever since, was revived in 1978 by an Australian-born pediatrician, Dr. Helen Caldicott. PSR's members grew from 100 in early 1979 to almost 2,500 last November. Since then it has doubled. It now has 50 chapters and 5,000 members.

One of its main activities this year has been symposia, which have been sponsored jointly with the Council for a Livable World (CLW) and have so far been held in Seattle, San Francisco and Chicago. Each has attracted about a thousand people and has caused local chapters to mushroom. The Chicago chapter, organized last October, had 200 members before and almost 400 members after the June 19-20 symposium.

PSR's immediate constituency is doctors and dentists, but it has already spawned similar groups of lawyers and nurses. More broadly, PSR represents the sentiments of many college-educated white-collar workers and professionals, who became skeptical about American foreign policy during the Vietnam War and who voted for either Carter, Anderson, Commoner, Clark or no one in 1980. Along with blacks, the other social group that has consistently opposed militarism, they represent the basis of a movement that could directly challenge the Reagan administration's foreign policy.

### Two perspectives.

The two organizations that sponsored the Chicago symposium contributed different perspectives to the discussion of the nuclear arms race. PSR's physicians, including Caldicott, community medicine expert Jack Gieger, and internist Kath-



Above: Herbert Scoville, former Deputy Director of Research at the CIA, stands in front of an exhibit at Chicago symposium. Below: Dr. Helen Caldicott, the president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, stands in front of a map showing damage to Chicago from a nuclear attack.

erine Kahn focused on the medical effects of a nuclear war and of nuclear war preparations.

The CLW, chaired by former nuclear scientist and Eisenhower advisor George Kiastokowsky, includes eminent scientists and government officials opposed to the arms race. It provides background briefings for senators and aids the campaigns of senators who favor arms control. Its representatives at the symposium, who included former deputy director of research at the CIA Herbert Scoville and MIT physicist Kosta Tsipis,

were concerned with the political and diplomatic aspects of arms control.

Scoville's presentation was the most comprehensive discussion of arms control politics at the conference. Like former arms control negotiator Paul Warnke, Scoville has become a *bête noire* of the strategic establishment, the target of rumors that he is a KGB "mole." He is presently the director of the Arms Control Association in Washington.

Scoville trained his fire on the current nuclear doctrine, officially sanctioned in President Carter's Presidential Directive



59 (P.D. 59), that the U.S. must prepare itself for fighting a "limited nuclear war." "It provides presidential authority to something that is unadulterated nonsense," Scoville said. "These positions were primarily put out for political *macho*, but they are also put out because we have been buying weapons that are nuclear war fighting weapons."

Scoville, who is the author of a forthcoming book on the MX, described how that missile's "counterforce capability" (ability to strike with precision and destroy an enemy's missile silo) is only appropriate to a nuclear first strike, since if the enemy has struck first, its missile silos will be smothered. Along with the J.D. 59 directive to target Soviet command and control centers, it encourages the enemy to adopt a policy of "launch on warning" rather than waiting to ascertain if an attack had been planned or is accidental. "Everything about the MX missile places us into a more dangerous situation that makes nuclear war more likely," Scoville concluded.

Scoville, who advocates reliance on invulnerable submarine-based missiles, has also been a critic of the NATO decision to station Pershing and Cruise missiles in Western Europe. The Pershings, which can reach their target in six or seven minutes, invite a preemptive first strike. "We are placing in Europe weapons that are like beacons to attract a Soviet strike," Scoville said.

During the question period, Scoville was asked whether he supported George Kennan's call for an immediate 50 percent reduction in nuclear arms on both sides. "Even cutting by 50 percent is not going to solve the nuclear arms problem," he said. "You have to deal with

ing into a nuclear war was addressed further by Kosta Tsipis, who rooted the arms race in peculiarities of human behavior.

"Since man has been organized in communities," Tsipis explained, "he has believed that winning combat and killing one's enemy ensures one's own survival." But with the Soviet achievement of nuclear parity with the U.S. in the late '60s, this "instinctive pattern of behavior" became outmoded. "Now killing one's enemy does not mean assured survival but assured death," Tsipis said.

"Deterrence is an inescapable fact of life," Tsipis said. "No number of nuclear weapons would deter an insane political leader, but if you want to deter a sane leader, a few will suffice."

Tsipis said there were four alternative ways to resolve conflicts—combat, posturing, negotiation and courts of law. With combat ruled out by deterrence, the U.S. and USSR have settled on "posturing"—the attempt to *appear* stronger in order to win concessions. But posturing, Tsipis noted, is "ephemeral—its effects last for only a limited amount of time. In order to make posturing effective, we and Russia must continually augment our posturing." Thus, deterrence yields to posturing which yields to the arms race.

"Since it is a forum of posturing, the arms race is inherently incremental," Tsipis noted. "Each country is forced to produce more and more baroque missile systems." Presently, Tsipis said, the arms race may have led back to combat itself through the creation of nuclear weapons designed to fight limited wars.

Tsipis said the only alternative was negotiations that addressed "conflicting in-

# How we learned to love the bomb

By James Gilbert

ON VERY CLEAR NIGHTS, the sky to the East lit up with spires of flame, shooting up from the open hearths. Living next to Gary, Ind., a grizzly steel town downwind, meant you could see these spectacular industrial fireworks on the flat Midwestern horizon almost any summer evening. To most who lived in visual range, this sight probably meant nothing. But I could never look at it without a twinge of fear. Was it the bomb? Had the Russians hit Chicago with nuclear weapons? Would we have time to evacuate?

Then, there was the self-comforting assurance that living 25 miles south of Chicago was pretty safe. The maps, showing rings of destruction that the *Chicago Tribune* sometimes ran, put my town safely in the limited-damage area, even if the Russians missed their target. And winds would probably carry radioactivity eastward. But then, there was the Nike missile installation only a few miles away. Would the Russians strike that first?

If these were the fears of a child in the '50s, based upon bits of overheard conversation and misunderstood calculations, all put together in a jumbled, simplistic view, they were nonetheless, pretty common. As is sometimes the case, the burden of thinking about catastrophe falls heavily on children.

Unskilled at rejecting unpleasant thoughts, literal minded yet imaginative, children during the '50s were continuously exposed to the fallout of discussions about nuclear war. There were air raid drills at school, snatches of discussion in current events classes about Strontium 90, the death of Stalin, the prospects of nuclear war, and, of course, the movies, hundreds of grade B science fiction thrillers based upon the nuclear devastation we had unleashed against Japan and the nuclear holocaust that might strike us at any minute.

## The friendly bomb.

Very few of us realized the closely guarded secret of the adults around us: they didn't believe that a nuclear war would occur, and they put the thought out of their minds. Despite the arms race, mounting military expenditures, and the spawn of new weapons, few of them seriously believed (once the Russians tested their first bomb in 1949) that we would ever use nuclear weapons. Children didn't know that and probably wouldn't have understood the logic anyway. Why build bombs if you didn't intend to use them?

While this "brinkmanship" of weapons policy may have had unexpected and even traumatic effects upon some younger citizens, it was part of a larger unspoken agreement to replace warfare with bluster and threat. To speak frankly about such subjects was too dangerous. It either invited serious preparations for a real war (and a look at their cost), or it might rouse serious opposition to defense spending. Thus, early in his administration, President Eisenhower rejected a proposal called "Operation Candor" to inform the American people about the realities of atomic warfare.

Dishonesty and misinformation also extended to discussions of the effects of radiation on human, animal, and vegetable life. Better not let on that frequent tests in the western U.S. released lethal radioactivity that affected local residents or that tests in the Marshall Islands and the Bikini Atoll had rendered whole islands uninhabitable. Instead, the military staged such events as "Operation Cue" at Yucca Flats in Nevada in 1955.



## In the Fifties, air raid drills, monster films, fed children's visions of war.

Like other nuclear tests, this explosion measured the ability of various sorts of structures and materials to withstand atomic blast. But "Operation Cue" was unusual in that it was a media event. Two hundred companies contributed materials for testing. At "position Baker" 29 volunteers, only 10,500 feet from "ground zero," huddled in trenches. Nuclear enthusiast and television commentator Dave Garroway directed the filming and broadcast of the event. Framed by smiling faces and Boy Scout enthusiasm, the bomb seemed friendlier, more a scientific spectacle, than a weapon.

## Hollywood's contribution.

Another disguise developed for the atomic arms race of the 1950s was civil defense. If you took the bomb and warfare seriously, you took civil defense seriously. But almost no one did. A Boy Scout, "Family Be Prepared Plan," issued in 1951, advised the family to close the windows and draw the blinds in case of nuclear attack. Boy Scouts volunteered to act as messengers running between local police and civil defense offices.

The major civil defense preparation for the 1950s was evacuation. Counting on several hours advance warning and a national network of intercity highways, evacuation was actually the best way to avoid any serious commitment to building shelters. Of course, anyone who thought about it knew that traffic jams would prevent evacuation, but, then, no one believed the weapons would be used anyway. So the federal government erected signposts with small blue markers indicating "Evacuation Route."

My friends and I often tried to spot those empty prairie places where the signs on the right leading away from Chicago to St. Louis or Minneapolis were replaced by signs on the left, leading out of St. Louis and Minneapolis to Chicago.

There were places in American culture, however, where the underlying reality of the nuclear threat erupted and coincided with our worst fears about atomic warfare. This occurred in science fiction films, aimed primarily at young people. Unlike adult culture, this form of children's popular culture,

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From left to right: Thomas Halstead, director of Physicians for Social Responsibility; Dr. Kosta Tsipis, MIT physicist; Jerome Grossman, president of the Council for a Livable World.

the qualitative questions—the new technology being put into weapons—rather than simple quantities."

In an interview afterwards with *In These Times*, Scoville expanded on some of the themes of his talk. He believes that, if anything, the American nuclear arsenal remains superior to that of the Soviet Union, because with its emphasis on submarines it is more survivable than the predominantly land-based Russian arsenal. Scoville, an intelligence expert, rejects the view that Soviets are planning to fight a limited nuclear war. "I think they believe in deterrence," he said. "I don't think they believe we can fight nuclear wars and survive."

But Scoville, along with Kiastkowski, remains pessimistic about the chances of curtailing the arms race. Once the Soviet Union gets the relatively tiny land- and sea based cruise missile and becomes capable of storing land-based missiles in "shell game-type" vertical silos, arms control verification will become nearly impossible. SALT will become obsolete.

Scoville and the other participants at the symposium did not think, however, either the Soviet Union or the U.S. was most likely to begin a nuclear war. Instead, they place their bets on a "madman" like Libya's Colonel Quaddafi or a bitter conflict in the Mideast or South Asia. "I think the Israeli attack on the Iraqi reactor is a major step toward anarchy and the use of nuclear weapons in that area," Scoville said.

## Deterrence vs. the arms race.

The possibility of the arms race explod-

terests and differences." He saw SALT I and II as means to regulate not reverse the arms race. He thought an end to the arms race would not necessarily mean the abolition of nuclear weapons, but a stable number on both sides, housed in submarines and allowed to rust because of lack of use.

## The end of Chicago.

Much of the symposium was devoted to the medical effects of nuclear war. Several speakers detailed the effect of radiation, which is released by all stages of nuclear weapons production, from mining to the final explosion.

Doctors Charles Davidson and Stuart Finch reviewed the effects of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But the highlight of the medical presentations was by Jack Geiger, a journalist turned community health specialist, who gave the audience a tour of what would happen if nuclear bombs were dropped on Chicago. Like Scoville and others, Geiger dismisses the possibility of limited war. "A limited nuclear war is like being a little pregnant or partially dead," he said.

Geiger asked what would happen if a relatively small one megaton hydrogen bomb, which is equal to 70 Hiroshima bombs, were dropped over Chicago. The immediate blast would kill everyone in downtown Chicago, as well as demolish all the buildings. The heat from the bomb would cause third degree burns in a six-mile radius. It is likely that it would also create a firestorm with temperatures up to 1400 degrees fahrenheit, which would

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# Nuclear

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cremate everyone in the six-mile radius, including people in shelters. The effect of the lethal radiation would spread much wider, depending on the prevailing winds.

Geiger estimated that in a one-megaton blast, 1,398,000 Chicagoans would be killed immediately, and 1,625,000 would be seriously injured. A larger 20-megaton blast would kill 4.2 million outright and seriously injure 1,700,000 more.

With a one-megaton bomb, there would be, Geiger estimated, one surviving physician for every 2,000 seriously injured persons. "If every surviving physician spent 16 hours a day, and spent only 15 minutes on a patient, patients would have to wait from eight to 14 days before being seen for the first time," Geiger said. "It is literally true that the survivors would envy the dead."

Geiger's speech seemed to create a combination of shock and bizarre practicality in the audience of physicians. "Would the stockpiling of quick-acting poisons be the best solution?" one doctor asked Geiger in the question period. "That assumes the social organization

would allow getting cyanide to survivors," Geiger replied.

## Doctor-patient relations.

Caldicott's summation of the conference presentations dwelled on the likelihood of nuclear war if the arms race is not stopped and its terminal effect on the planet in case it did occur. In an interview with *In These Times*, Caldicott explained how she and PSR approached disbelieving audiences. "I give them the gruesome medical fix," she said. "I make them cry, get to their souls. I want them to go through the four stages of grief—shock, depression, pain, adjustment—and then discover their anger."

Caldicott's approach reflects a certain political model for PSR. Her goal is to make nuclear war a non-political issue like human rights. "The issue we are talking about is not left-wing radical. It's a conservative issue, the survival of the planet," she said.

Thomas Halstead, a former official in the Carter administration's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, is now director of the PSR (Caldicott is president). Halstead wants to make PSR into a nuclear equivalent of Amnesty International. "I don't think this is a political problem where only liberals can get their juices up. I hope the movement can attract middle-of-the-road physicians," Halstead said.

PSR tries to avoid what Caldicott calls the "What about the Russians syndrome." Katherine Kahn said she tries changing the "political question back into the medical question."

But the approach to the arms race also seems to reflect Caldicott's own philosophy. Caldicott was a leader of the Australian movement against French nuclear testing in the Pacific. She came to the U.S. in 1976 and is presently an

instructor at Harvard Medical School. When she approaches audiences, she says she tries to "establish a doctor-patient relationship." She regards telling audiences about nuclear war as comparable to telling patients they have cancer and must take certain steps if they do not want to die.

She views the arms race as a psychiatric disturbance. "It is a case of missile

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# The '50s

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whether Hollywood ever realized it or not, illustrated the deep fears that plagued anyone who took the bomb seriously.

There were many types of atomic warfare films, for the genre was rich with possibilities of disaster, but three, on reflection, seem to be most striking. The first had to do with American war guilt. We, after all, had used the bomb on Japan. And by the early '50s, as if in retribution, movie-made America was being invaded weekly by new versions of monsters created by radiation from Hiroshima and Nagasaki and later tests. Giant grasshoppers, ants, and other monsters conjured out of irradiated

genetic materials, attacked and murdered. Generally appearing first in the countryside, these creatures, like atomic bombs, saved their greatest destruction for cities, none of which could ever be evacuated in time.

A second theme of many of these movies was the ineffectiveness of nuclear weapons to stop the monsters that they had inadvertently released. How many times did the Strategic Air Command answer a call to bomb an advancing monster...and fail? One reason was that most monsters thrived on nuclear fallout. Usually, civilization was saved by the silent intervention of nature, the wisdom of a young engineer, or the canny of a young boy.

A final theme was peace and disarmament. The best example of this sort of film is probably *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, but the theme appears elsewhere. Because these films addressed the fears and hopes of juvenile audiences, they sometimes evidenced a sort of logic that rarely appealed to politicians: nuclear warfare could be prevented only by cooperation and disarmament.

## Hard sell backfires.

By the end of the '50s, however, the issue of nuclear warfare and bomb testing suddenly appeared in a broad and heated debate. When enthusiasts like Nelson Rockefeller and other civil defense advocates decided to take nuclear warfare seriously, that is, to prepare to survive it, they unleashed a public debate that they undoubtedly regretted.

At first, these militarists seemed to have their own way. Civil defense dress rehearsals in cities grew more frequent. The government designated bomb shelters in federal buildings. Architectural firms vied to win prizes offered for the best bomb-proof buildings. And contractors, realizing that they could make a dollar from a family tomb as well as anything else, rushed to present the public with blueprints for backyard shelters. Early in his administration, President Kennedy pushed for a hefty rise in expenditures for bomb shelters. And Herman Kahn, in his 1960 book, *On Thermonuclear War*, promised that after an atomic war, despite some increase in "human tragedy," survivors could expect to lead "normal and happy lives."

All of this hard sell of civil defense backfired. Frank discussion of nuclear warfare led logically to the advice in a Catholic publication that it was well within Christian ethics to shoot anyone trying to enter a crowded bomb shelter. This was precisely the sort of vision that had haunted early movies about nuclear warfare. Adults had finally come to understand what the nightmare was all about.

The backlash against civil defense in the early 1960s threatened to bring the issue of atomic warfare into the open for all to see. It also implicitly threatened the whole defense establishment. Understandably, the shelter idea was quickly dropped, and most Americans quickly went back to their quiet belief that such weapons would never be used; thus it was safe to continue building and testing them.

Thus ended the curious two-tiered American attitude toward the bomb in the 1950s. Mass culture aimed at children selected new topics and the burst of adult dissent against the bomb eventually expired in an even larger conspiracy of silence. Other issues—the war in Vietnam, for example—replaced the bomb. But no one stopped building them.

James Gilbert is a professor of history at the University of Maryland, the author of the forthcoming *Another Chance: America after World War II*.

## WRITERS IN AMERICA FACE A CRISIS.

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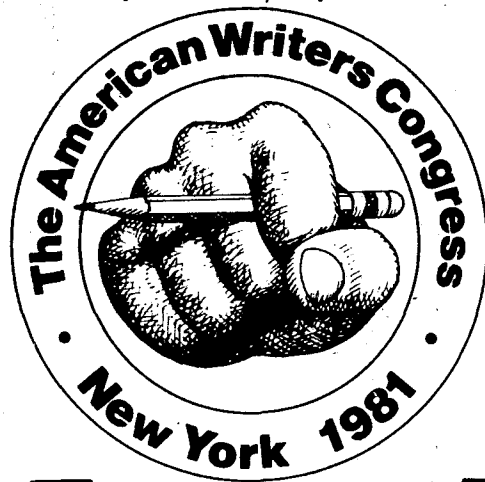
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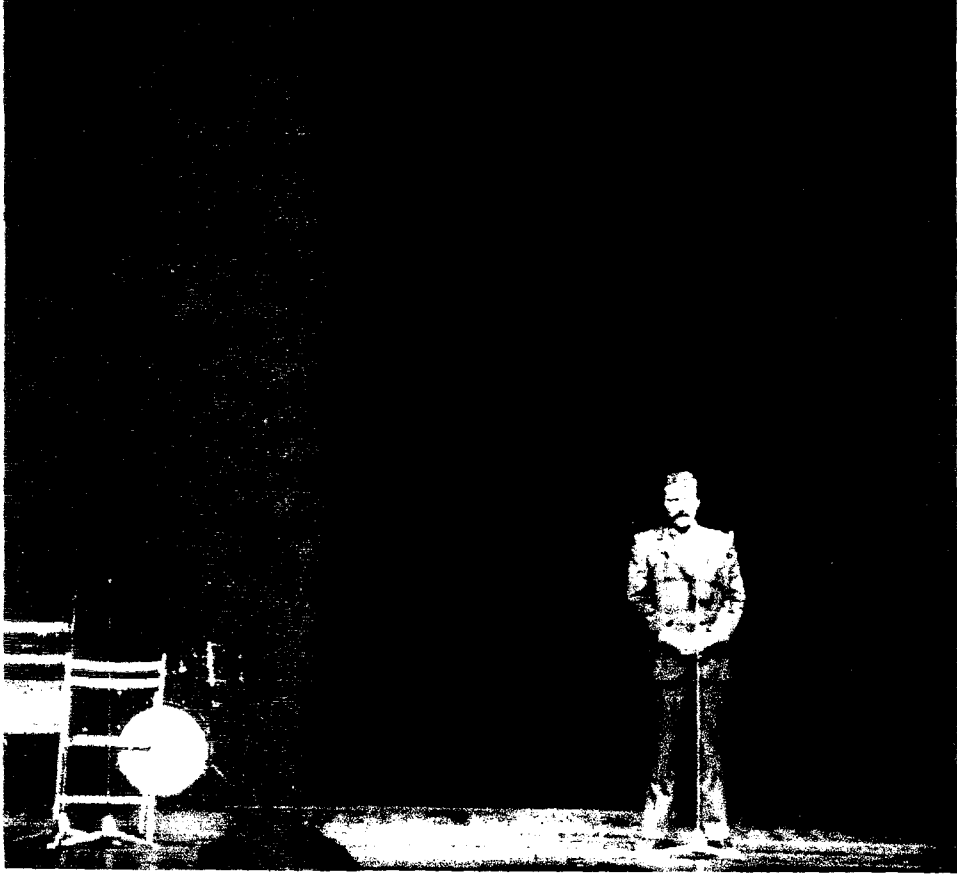
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# IN THE WORLD

# SOLIDARNOŚĆ



## SOLIDARITY

# Polish democracy from the bottom up

A.B. Magil

CRACOW, POLAND

**A**TUG OF WAR BETWEEN THE past and the future is under way in Poland. On the side of the past is the Soviet Union; on the side of the future are the vast majority of the Polish people. The menacing letter of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party to the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party demanded that the Polish Communists not only put on the brakes, but also put the country into reverse. The immediate response of the Polish leadership was to pledge minor curbs and concentrate on grappling with the severe economic crisis. But they left unchanged (as far as one can tell) plans for the special party congress scheduled for July 14-18, which the Soviets have tarred in advance with the brush of "revisionism," charging that elections to the congress are being increasingly dominated by "forces hostile to socialism."

As this is written, the thrust toward "democratic and socialist renewal" continues and is headed for confirmation at the party congress. It will be both a culmination and a beginning. For the strike at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk last August that became the tidal wave of Solidarity has carried the party with it toward unknown shores. This has been the most extraordinary development in Eastern Europe since the Yugoslav heresy in 1948. A new socialist revolution led by the working class is under way, a peaceful revolution against the authoritarian so-

cialism imposed after the Soviet army liberated Poland.

During nine days of conversations in April with Communist officials and editors, Solidarity leaders, university professors and rank and file workers in Warsaw and Cracow, I learned something of the possibilities and limits of the changes under way. The much publicized conflict between Solidarity and the party has its counterpart in the conflict between the majority of the party rank and file and its leadership. These relationships have overlapped because one-third of the 3 million party members belong to Solidarity. The national leadership of the new trade union center includes one Communist, Bogdan Lis, of Gdansk.

How does participation of Communists and non-Communists in a huge

mass movement in repeated conflict with the Communist government work? Friction appears to have been nonexistent or minimal. "When the strike started, the party members joined with everybody else," said Zygmunt Zurynski, a 56-year-old toolmaker, at the Alexander Kowalski factory in Warsaw, and a party member since 1945. In Cracow Jerzy Kuchera, former steel worker and now a leader of Solidarity's regional committee, observed: "At the beginning of the movement party members were more influenced by the party, but with time they understood that the aims of Solidarity were the aims of the whole nation and now they are completely on the side of Solidarity."

When I asked Jan Broniek, second secretary of the United Workers Party in the Cracow region, who has influenced whom ideologically he bridled and called it "not entirely proper." He gave a long and unresponsive answer in which he emphasized that Solidarity was a trade union movement and questions of ideological influence were irrelevant. "We expect our members to be active in Solidarity. We oblige them also to oppose any extreme actions that might be harmful to the state, to the party, to socialism. We are for Solidarity being a trade union movement and not a political party."

Solidarity is not a homogeneous movement and it includes ultra-radicals who have objected to compromises and wished to function as a political opposition. But the number one trade union leader, Lech Walesa, and his close colleagues, having learned that not every conflict requires a strike for its resolution, have also learned to keep the extremists in check.

Perhaps a more clearcut answer to the question of who has influenced whom came on the issue of political strikes. A plenary session of the Central Committee adopted a resolution forbidding party members to participate in strikes of a political character. The test came on March 27 when Solidarity called a nationwide four-hour strike demanding punishment of officials and police who had evicted Solidarity activists from a meeting in the city of Bydgoszcz and beaten three of them severely.

The Politburo described the warning strike as political and party members were ordered to remain on their jobs, but the order fell on deaf ears.

Agreement resulting from that strike was a compromise that marked what may be a qualitative change in the adversary relationship between Solidarity and the government. The danger of polarization and repeated confrontation has receded, but has not completely disappeared. Both sides have created commissions to tackle specific problems. These commissions held their first meetings in Warsaw the latter part of April. This may provide a mechanism for reaching compromises that may avoid strikes.

### The meaning of Solidarity.

Solidarity arose in opposition to reduced subsidies and meat price increases of from 20 to 100 percent last July 1. But the economic issues and the wage increases won should not obscure its larger meaning. The first and most important of the 21 demands of the Gdansk workers, which were quickly adopted by strikers all over the country, was trade union independence of the party, and of management. Moreover, the 21 demands included such non-economic issues as free

speech and press (abolition of censorship), access to the mass media for Solidarity's point of view and release of political prisoners.

But Solidarity is more. It is ten million workers, joined by millions in the rest of the population, saying: "Enough!" A former high official of the Polish diplomatic service told me he considered a major factor in the revolt the corruption and elegant life-style among government and party officials under the regime of Edward Gierek, who was ousted as the party's first secretary last September. This former diplomat knows most of the past and present leaders of Poland personally. "When Gierek came to power in 1970, he started to enrich his people. Lavish villas became common. In every town and village the leading personalities acquired special privileges in contrast to the past when leaders lived simply."

Cumulative inequities—economic, social, political—failure of the old captive trade unions to defend the workers' interests, gross economic mismanage-

## The support for Solidarity is too widespread to be stopped now.

ment, and the general absence of freedom combined to produce the August explosion. It blew Gierek and other leaders out of power. Today Poland has its third prime minister since the August events. Of Stanislaw Kania, who succeeded Gierek as first secretary, and of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the present prime minister, my ex-diplomat friend says: "They have clean hands—no villas."

Changes at the top have occurred before—in the crises of 1956 and 1970, but reform was limited and short-lived. This time, the changes are taking place below. The Solidarity movement's impact within the ranks of the party are making a difference. Discussion and debate in party branches have produced a groundswell of letters and resolutions calling for democratic reform, punishment of wrongdoers and abolition of special privileges.

As a veteran pre-war Communist, Jozef Zawadzki (see box), who numbers among his former students at party schools Gierek, Kania and "half the Politburo," put it: "The conflict between Solidarity and the government and between the party members and the leadership is really one conflict. This is a conflict of the nation against the leadership of the party and the government."

Finally, at the end of April, under the cautious middle-of-the-road guidance of first secretary Kania, the Central Committee approved a draft of new party statutes that provide for secret ballot, direct election of delegates to the congress and of party officials at all levels, an unlimited number of candidates, and a maximum of two terms in the same party post. One would hope that those who are pressing for democratization would also get around to doing something about the anti-Semitic material that appears in sections of the press, and about the activities of the nationalist, anti-Semitic organization Grunwald which is reportedly nurtured in high places.

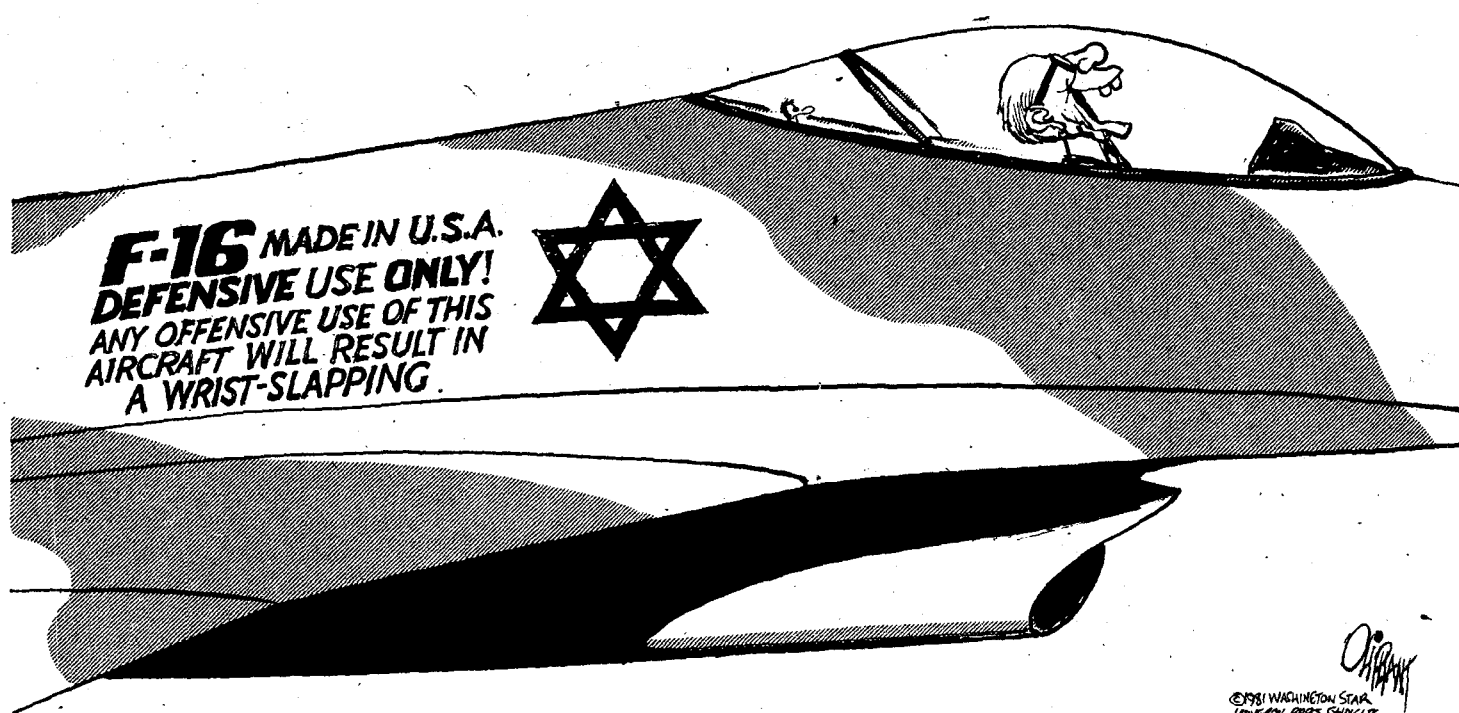
Continued on page 20



In the event of a Soviet invasion of Poland, it isn't at all clear on which side these Polish soldiers would fight.



## ISRAEL



## Begin's raid stymies Labor

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

**A**CCUSATIONS BY ISRAEL'S foundering opposition and the assumption by critical opinion in the rest of the world are wrong: The bombing of Iraq's nuclear facility was not merely a Menachem Begin election stunt.

The prime minister's Likud Party had already bought and bluffed its way to a

solid lead in the polls before the June 7 attack. An economic clearance sale and a truly manufactured missile crisis with Syria had dramatically reversed the government's previous unpopularity by then, barely three weeks before the scheduled election. The Baghdad air raid risked all this. Even with the most meticulous preparation and top pilots, a great deal could have gone wrong, and failure would have reversed the political tide.

But militarily, the operation was a tremendous success, and barring the unexpected, it will assure Begin an even big-

ger victory on June 30. Now, the Israeli master of hard-line hyperbole is utilizing his triumph to the hilt: when Labor Party leader Shimon Peres at first reacted by claiming he had only questioned the timing of the mission, Begin gleefully released a confidential letter supposedly proving that his rival had been opposed to the whole idea. Then, when Peres and other Labor leaders tried to assert a stronger line against the consequences of the raid—unprecedented diplomatic isolation and an apparent worsening of relations with the U.S.—Begin was prepared with a three-pronged counter-attack: reassurance that the delay in supply of U.S. warplanes was not serious and only temporary; a barrage of rhetoric, probably quite justified, against the hypocrisy of nations which so quickly condemned Israel after competing to sell weapons and nuclear technology to unstable, unpredictable regimes like Iraq; and the coup de grace, a frontal assault on Peres and the internal opposition for "sabotaging" Israel's propaganda effort in the wake of the incident.

For Begin, everything seemed to be going right: President Reagan gave his cause a major boost on June 16, saying he understood how Israel considered the raid to be defensive; the UN condemnation finally passed included no sanctions, but only a ridiculous-sounding call on Israel to compensate Iraq for the damage caused; and as election day neared, there was a serious escalation in violent attacks on Labor Party offices and workers by thugs who openly used the word that Begin had only hinted at—traitor.

By now totally on the defensive, Labor has retreated to its most ludicrous attempt at criticism: the raid may have been justified after all, it says, but the government should not have taken public responsibility. Nonsense, Begin retorted proudly: "We are not thieves in the night."

Israeli leftists and peace movement activists, accustomed to opposing the Begin government on almost all counts, did not feel so obligated to display their patriotism and awe at the air force's feat. But the initial horror at witnessing such a reckless act, which could have plunged the region into a cycle of retaliation and war, gave way to at least some moments of uncertainty. What if the official explanation were true?

No matter how much support the Palestinians deserve in their struggle for self-determination, the thought of an atomic bomb in the hands of someone like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is not comforting. His regime is regarded as one of the most autocratic and brutal, he has consistently rejected even the possibility of political solution with Israel, and has a very recent history of aggres-

sion against Iran.

Some of the doubts still linger, though they have been greatly weakened by gaping holes in Begin's explanations following the raid: Jordanian radio did not disclose the attack before Israel broke its silence; as the prime minister first claimed; there was no "secret bunker" 40 meters underground, which he boasted to have destroyed; the "quotation" in which Hussein supposedly assured Iran that Iraq's "atom bomb" was intended for use against Israel turned out to have been fabricated; and French technicians returning from Baghdad discounted claims that the reactor was soon to have been activated.

These untruths came in the wake of other glaring inconsistencies in official Israeli statements on the continuing crisis with Syria over Lebanon. Political leaders claimed that the immediate bone of contention, the missiles, were a grave threat to Israel's existence, while at the same time, military experts bragged that the air force could destroy them "in a matter of hours." More disturbing, there were various and contradictory versions of the nature of Israel's formal commitment to the right-wing Christian forces who provoked the crisis by moving against the Syrians last April.

All these factors contributed to settling most doubts among the Israeli doves as to whether Begin might have, for once, done something distasteful but necessary. The surprise attack could then be seen in the light of the government's still-consistent policy—in fact, as part of that policy: a reliance on military answers to any threat, real or imagined, and an inability, resting on refusal to consider Palestinian self-determination as the basis of a political solution, to conceive of a different set of relations with neighbors to the north and east. In the context of Israel's aggressive stance against Syria, Iraq and the PLO, peace with Egypt stands out clearly as a separate peace, to President Sadat's embarrassment, and Jerusalem is quite happy to have it that way.

**At best, it bought Israel time. But if Begin wants to end the threat of nuclear war, he must resolve the basic conflict that creates it.**

Israel, which itself has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and is widely considered to have several atomic bombs or at least the ability to put them together quickly, continues to declare that it "will not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East." It has now served notice that it will do anything possible to avoid being the second country to do so either—at least as far as "enemies" are concerned.

Advocacy of a nuclear-free zone sounds appealing, and could win broad international backing. But as Israel itself points out, treaties and controls have done little to prevent even developing countries that feel threatened from seeking, and in some cases obtaining, atomic weapons. Even the best army in the world cannot do every time what Israel did last week in Iraq, and it is not clear whether the government considered the possibility that the dramatic air raid may actually spur efforts by that and other countries in the area to develop nuclear capability.

At best, the raid buys some time for Israel. But if the government in Jerusalem were really interested in preventing the introduction of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East, it would use that time, without delay, to seek agreement on the basic conflicts that cause it and the Arab countries to feel threatened in the first place. So far, neither Begin nor Peres is moving in that direction. ■

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**NAM  
1981**





# Iraqi reactor was French controlled

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**MONG ITS OTHER FUNCTIONS, the Israeli bombing raid against the French-built nuclear reactor in Iraq was a pre-emptive strike against Francois Mitterrand's new and more principled approach to the Middle East. France's Socialist president hoped to use his friendship for Israel to contribute to peace-making efforts. But the Israeli raid on Tamuz enables Begin's supporters and Arab extremists alike to interpret any French tilt toward Israel as tacit acquiescence in such Israeli methods.

Duplicity and crime have hovered around the history of the French-built Iraqi nuclear research installation. The French share of duplicity, in the opinion of Paris observers, lay in ex-President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's policy of trying to please all sides, in this particular case by selling the Iraqi government the nuclear reactor it wanted and then studiously looking the other way every time the Israelis sabotaged it.

Francois Mitterrand intended to put an end to such duplicity, which misleads public opinion in all countries and has increasingly lent itself to moral blackmail. As opposition leader, Mitterrand had criticized the Franco-Iraqi nuclear cooperation agreement. Unlike other French—or most European—leaders, he has approved the Camp David process. He has been the staunchest supporter of Israeli Labor Party leader Shimon Peres at recent Socialist International meeting, warding off rapprochement with Palestinians sought by other Socialist parties. He has constantly stressed his overriding concern for Israel's security. Thus if the Israeli government had chosen to use diplomatic means, Tamuz would have been a perfect case to test the new French president's good will.

Israeli prime minister Begin chose not to give Mitterrand this chance. While the French Socialists were still in the throes of legislative elections, Begin ordered the June 7 air strike that wrecked the Tamuz I nuclear reactor and killed a French technician working there.

In his subsequent interview with the *Washington Post*, Mitterrand recalled his friendship for Israel and remarked duly that Begin "could have noticed it. Yet the first thing he did was to squander that capital of confidence."

Right after the raid, newspapers in the English-speaking world began speculat-

ing that it would make France revise its nuclear cooperation policy. In response to this, External Relations minister Claude Cheysson said: "I do not see how the fact that Iraq was attacked in the course of a raid contrary to international law could modify relations between Iraq and France. If it had any effect, it would be rather to bring us together. After all, we have now shed blood together."

## Secret clauses.

What is new about Mitterrand's approach can be appreciated only if the real nature of his predecessor's approach is understood. But duplicity is hard to see clearly, and Giscardian duplicity worked precisely because certain Arab leaders and certain Israeli leaders both stood to gain something from it.

A week after the Tamuz raid, the French Atomic Energy Commission disclosed secret clauses of the Franco-Iraqi nuclear agreement of which Mitterrand himself said he had not been aware. These secret clauses provided for French technicians to man the Tamuz installations until 1989. This amounted to a con-

stant French supervision, in addition to the periodic inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), whose director Dr. Syvgard Eklund explained that the French-built Osirak transparent pool reactor at Tamuz was perfectly familiar to the IAEA and could not possibly be diverted to military purposes without rapid detection.

French Atomic Energy Commissioner Michel Pecqueur disclosed that the experimental programs using the Tamuz reactor were worked out in common by a joint committee of French and Iraqi scientists. Any misuse of the reactor for military purposes would have been spotted and denounced by the French, he said, and France would instantly have cut off its enriched uranium deliveries before anywhere near enough could be accumulated for a bomb. Pecqueur said the "underground bomb factory" mentioned by Prime Minister Begin to justify the air raid was a product of "the wildest imagination." Both French technicians and IAEA inspectors were familiar with the cellars of the Tamuz installation, he added.

In September 1975, France signed the contract to build two research reactors, models Osiris (Osirak to the Iraqis) and Isis, for Iraq (Tamuz I and II). Iraq signed the nuclear arms non-proliferation treaty and agreed to inspection by the IAEA, which approved the terms of the contract. The reactors were to be used as a research center to train some 600 nuclear engineers and technicians. What for? Despite denials, it is fair to assume that Iraqi president Saddam Hussein aspired to break Israel's nuclear arms monopoly in the Middle East. It would be hasty, however, to conclude that this was the sole purpose. The oil-rich Arab states are acutely aware that oil runs out, and they all want to use their present wealth to master technologies that can replace oil in the future. Rightly or wrongly, they (like the late Shah of Iran) fancy that what is good for the advanced industrial countries would be good for them.

Israel of course feels that its security and freedom of action depend on maintenance of its nuclear arms monopoly (an estimated 20 atomic bombs as of five years ago) and technological superiority over its Arab neighbors. It would never allow IAEA inspection of its own French-built Dimona nuclear plant. Thus Israel cannot very well choose to try to stop Arab nuclear armament by international legal measures such as reinforcement of IAEA controls.

The Tamuz installation has been dogged by James Bond style dramas, especially as it neared completion last year. In April 1980, unidentified commandos bombed the La Seyne shipyards near the French Mediterranean port of Toulon, badly damaging the reactors' metal casing a few days before it was to be shipped

to Iraq. Iraq accused the Israeli Mossad and the CIA. The *New York Times* suggested that the French secret services themselves had done it, as part of an over-all policy of publicly pleasing the Arabs (for business reasons) while privately satisfying the Israelis.

Even more peculiar was the murder in Paris on June 14, 1980, of Egyptian nuclear physicist Yahia el Meshad, who had

## The Israeli raid was not only an attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor, but also on Mitterrand's new approach.

helped negotiate the Tamuz deal and was in line to direct research and training there. Professor el Meshad had come to Paris for a week of consultations at the French Atomic Energy Commission. The night he was murdered, the 48-year-old Egyptian scientist picked up bar girl Marie-Claude Magal and took her to his rooms in the Meridien Hotel, a hotbed of agents. The next morning, a chambermaid found Meshad's badly beaten body with his skull smashed in.

Israeli radio described Meshad as "one of the rare Arabs with international authority in the field of nuclear energy" and suggested that "it will be very difficult for Iraq to keep up its efforts to produce a nuclear weapon" with Meshad dead. The radio said French authorities were considering the possibility that the murder was committed by Libyans "jealous of Iraq's progress" or by Israelis. However, the French press reported that French police seemed uninterested in following international leads and treated the case as a routine underworld crime, although a large sum of money found in the Egyptian's hotel room ruled out robbery.

Medical reports concluded that the woman with Meshad would not have had the strength to strike the blows that battered him to death. But before she could be questioned, Marie-Claude Magal had an accident. According to police, the young woman, drunk or drugged, tried to accost a strange man late one night on the Boulevard Saint Germain and the stranger, understandably annoyed, shoved her into the street in front of a passing car. She was killed instantly. Police showed no further curiosity about this suitable death of a fallen woman, who was also the only witness to a crime no one seemed anxious to solve.

# Communists in the cabinet

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

**A**FTER A CASCADE OF ELECTORAL victories giving the Socialist Party (PS) not only the powerful French presidency but also a substantial absolute majority in the National Assembly, Francois Mitterrand moved rapidly to unify the long-divided French left by bringing a chastened Communist Party (PCF) into his government on his own terms.

In each of two rounds of presidential elections followed by two rounds of legislative elections, the Socialist's score kept mounting. In the end, the PS held 270 seats alongside 19 tag-along independent Socialists, left-wing Gaullists and members of the Left Radical Movement (MRG), giving the non-Communist left 289 of the 491 seats. This unprecedented Socialist victory gives President Mitterrand a comfortable parliamentary majority for the next five years of his seven year term.

Behind this appearance of Socialist

unanimity is a highly diverse electorate ranging from apolitical voters, who are used to being on the winning side, to the revolutionary far left, which seems momentarily to have melted into the PS. The right-wing parties supporting ex-president Valery Giscard d'Estaing or Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac were practically cut in two by the Socialist gains, as was the PCF, which lost 42 of its 86 seats. The Socialist majority includes 163 newcomers to the National Assembly, many of them young militants. Nearly 45 percent of the Socialist deputies belong to the teaching profession, the traditional stronghold of French Socialism.

The event of the final election night that uncorked the most champagne bottles was the defeat of the Giscard's justice minister, Alain Peyrefitte, whose oppressive law code and simpering manner made him the left's favorite villain. His demise was complete two days later when, in his June 23 cabinet reshuffle, Mitterrand replaced the overly moderate MRG justice minister Maurice Faure with the most prominent opponent of the Peyrefitte code, Robert Badinter, a glamorous left-liberal lawyer and law

professor known for his passionate opposition to the death penalty. Son of Russian Jewish immigrants, Badinter is a champion of human rights, except the right of Professor Robert Faurisson to

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Francois Mitterrand





Police charge protestors at a pro-fascist National Front march, Lewisham, 1977.

# Bobbies & Blacks

By David H. Rosenthal

ON APRIL 11TH AND 12TH, AN all too familiar scenario was played out on TV screens throughout the U.S. Black youths burned buildings and looted stores as they battled police in a seedy, impoverished, and increasingly violent ghetto. But this time the images weren't from Detroit, Newark, or Miami but from London, the once proud, civilized, and law-abiding capital of the British Empire, famous for its unarmed "bobbies" and orderly bus queues. The riots left 30 policemen and 20 civilians injured, a hundred buildings damaged and 200 arrested. In a sequel Americans must have also found familiar, a commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the weekend disorders, while Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Home Secretary warned that "the police will continue to do their duty to maintain the law on the streets of London."

The Brixton riots are a warning to us of what "tougher policing" means in real life. With President Reagan's cutbacks in social programs, virtually every major police force in this country is stocking up on anti-riot gear. As we know, weapons on hand have a way of being used. In addition, the recent history of London and other large English cities should serve as an object lesson in how an uncontrolled, racist and corrupt police force can poison its relations with a peaceful community in record time. Finally, the consequences of a system in which the public has few statutory rights should also give pause to those who advocate unshackling the police. The Brixton riots were not a case of spontaneous combustion. They were the result of long-smoldering resentment of systematic police abuse and harassment.

## Rights for the rich.

England has no written constitution or Bill of Rights. British law far more than our own is a maze of often-conflicting statutes and vague precedents. There is, for example, no fixed limit on the length of time the police may hold prisoners incommunicado before charging or releasing them. The police are not required to caution suspects that their statements may be used against them. The police may refuse to admit a lawyer during interrogation if they feel it will "impede their inquiries."

This last phrase is quoted from the



Police arrest many blacks at Notting Hill carnival, 1978.

Judges' Rules, a set of recommendations drawn up by the British judiciary to guide the police in their investigations. These rules, further, have no binding power and are frequently ignored. They work like an upper-class Bill of Rights, denied to the poor and minorities, as Sir David McNee, London's police commissioner, maintained in urging a parliamentary commission to abolish them.

The British police also have far more freedom than their American counterparts to stop, search, and arrest on suspicion. Under the 1824 Vagrancy Act, usually known as the "sus laws," "loitering with intent to commit an arrestable offense" remains a punishable crime in Britain. This law can be applied if police observe what they deem "two suspicious acts," like reaching toward someone's purse or pushing in a bus line. Another astonishingly vague British law is the one against possession of an "offensive weapon," which in practice can be anything from a long-handled comb to a pocket knife. Still another is possession of

"unexplained property" or "failure to respond to allegations": i.e., being unable to prove items in your possession are *not* stolen.

What such unlimited powers mean in practice can be seen from the following account, written by a black woman student at Birmingham Technical College and published in a pamphlet put out by a local church group. She had given her boyfriend a razor as a birthday present and he was stopped and beaten by the police on the way home.

"Apparently they beat him up because they didn't believe the razor was a birthday present, they kept insisting that maybe he stole it," she wrote. "When he kept saying no it was a birthday present they kept hitting him. It is things like this that brings the conclusion that the police are racist."

"I have been in a car myself and the police just stop us for no reason and they want to know all kinds of irrelevant information, like who are the rest of the people in the car beside the driver and where are we going. As far as I can see the more down and out a black man is, or the black youth is, the more advantages

the police will take of you...

"I don't think they like to see black people better themselves and if they see a black youth with a car they will find excuses to stop him three or four times in one day on the pretext of just routine stop checks."

Nonetheless, the British police until recently enjoyed relatively good relations with most of the public. The big change has occurred in the past 10 years, and not only among non-whites. Juries, especially in London, are now extremely reluctant to convict solely on police testimony and tend to doubt signed confessions not made in the presence of a lawyer. One reason for this increased suspicion is that the British working class is increasingly better educated and aware of its rights. Another factor is the drug laws, which (as in our country) have alienated much of the young middle and upper classes.

The major factor, however, was a series of scandals that shook Scotland Yard and assorted "special squads" under its control (the Drug Squad, the Obscene Publications or "Dirty" Squad, and others). These scandals revealed widespread, systemic corruption within the more lucrative branches of the London police—corruption that, in one detective's words, amounted to "a little firm in a firm." The way this "firm" operates will come as no surprise to Americans, but it was profoundly shocking to the English. Corrupt detectives habitually "license" criminals in areas like bank robbery, drug smuggling, and pornography, in exchange for money and information leading to the arrest of minor figures or to frameups of innocent parties.

Major revelations—the *Times* extortion case in 1969, the Drug Squad investigations in 1973, the Dirty Squad trials in 1976 and the Scotland Yard cleanup campaign "Operation Countryman" in 1978 and 1979—left the British much less certain who the good guys were and ended the mystique of Scotland Yard. The results of this rude awakening can be seen in verdict after verdict returned by London juries. To cite one example, last summer a previously convicted bank robber was charged with several additional robberies, all of which he might very well have committed. Despite his past record, a "confession" he denied making and the testimony of several senior police officials, the jury acquitted. Ten years ago he would almost certainly have been found guilty. A number of "confessions," especially by young non-whites, have turned out to be false. A minor but typical case is described in a pamphlet put out by the Haldane Society. A few years ago an unidentified Asian youth of 19 "confessed" to stealing some money from his employer; it was later discovered that no money had disappeared.

This, then, is the context in which the British police operate—virtually unlimited powers to detain and harass an increasingly resentful public. The breakdown in community relations is perhaps most acute in non-white neighborhoods.

There are only a handful of non-white policemen in Britain, though non-whites



now account for four percent of the total population. Most of these "colored immigrants"—and particularly the West Indian contingent—were imported in the '50s and '60s to perform tasks whites considered too unpleasant or badly paid—menial hospital work, for example. Such immigrants tended to be hard-working, uncomplaining, and respectful of British institutions. Their children attended English schools, grew up thinking of themselves as English and usually adopted the local working class accent.

In the past, if their children got in trouble with the police, immigrant parents' first response would be to disown them. Now, the moribund English economy, with 10 percent unemployment, has made it impossible for most young blacks and Asians to find work. This, in turn, has naturally led to higher crime rates. In addition, it has led to more young people with nothing to do and no place to go.

Street life is highly un-British, and many police regard it as inherently suspicious. In 1978, Commissioner McNee replied to a question from a black reporter about police stop-and-search tactics by saying he understood minority concerns, "but if you keep off the streets of London and behave yourself you won't have the SPG to worry about."

The SPG is London's Special Patrol Group, assigned to high-crime (i.e. non-white) areas like Notting Hill Gate, Hackney, and Brixton and also frequently used to control demonstrations. How the SPG has managed to turn passivity into fury, is illustrated by the "Lewisham 21" case in 1977.

The Lewisham 21 were a group of black teenagers rounded up in an enormous "cleanup operation" just before Queen Elizabeth II's Jubilee Celebration. The SPG descended on the homes of the suspected youths in the early morning,

perhaps the most notorious took place in Southall in April 1979.

Southall is a South London neighborhood with a large Indian and Pakistani population. Its residents were already familiar with the NF's views. In 1976, an Asian youth named Gurdip Singh Chaggar had been stabbed to death by whites outside a Southall pub. Kingsley Read, chairman of the National Party (one component of the NF), had remarked, "One down—a million to go."

The events in Southall, a police riot directed at a peaceful demonstration, received more publicity than dozens of similar confrontations, mainly because a New Zealander, Blair Peach, was killed by what is widely believed to have been a blow from a non-regulation nightstick.

On the morning of April 23rd, demonstrators began massing outside the hall that had been rented by the NF for a rally later that day. The demonstrators expected to stage a peaceful protest, but instead found themselves trapped between advancing police cordons. As more demonstrators kept arriving, the police chased them through the streets, breaking into houses and roughing up bystanders on the way. At one point about 80 people, many of them elderly, took refuge in a churchyard.

The conservative *Daily Telegraph* described the scene thus: "As we watched, several dozen crying, screaming coloured demonstrators were dragged bodily along Park View Road and along the Uxbridge Road to the police station and waiting coaches. Nearly every demonstrator we saw had blood flowing from some sort of injury; some were doubled up in pain. Women and men were crying."

Another scene was described by a local elected official, Councillor Brian Hudson: "I saw one Asian boy, in particular, not struggling, just held by the back of



with criminal offenses, 83 complained of being assaulted by the police.

Months later, in November 1979, the lockers of the SPG unit on duty at Southall were searched in the course of an investigation of Blair Peach's death. The non-regulation weapons discovered included a sledge hammer, a three-foot crowbar, a "Rhino whip" and two long knives. One can only speculate about what might have been found the day after the riot.

#### White skin no guarantee.

Since Margaret Thatcher's election victory the NF has virtually disappeared from sight in England, but riots, burning, and looting have escalated in places like Leeds, Bristol, and London. The SPG still exists, and its brand of "blanket policing" was directly responsible for what happened recently in Brixton. While non-whites call for greater community control and repeal of the sus laws, Commissioner McNee has been pressing for even broader powers, and the government has repeatedly congratulated the constabulary on its bravery and restraint in trying circumstances.

Though the brunt of police corruption, brutality, and disregard for the law is borne by the non-white communities in England, anyone can come in contact with it. The following case, described by an English barrister, sheds light on how the police deal with those they consider defenseless.

The son of a wealthy businessman was painting his girlfriend's apartment in

Police often use arbitrary force in arrests (above, Lewisham, 1977).

London. At one point, he went out, wearing a T-shirt and paint-spattered jeans, to have his midmorning cup of tea in a local luncheonette. As he was reading a magazine, a policeman came in with a woman who "identified" him as the burglar who had robbed her apartment that morning. The young man was then hustled into a squad car and driven to the local police station. When they arrived, the arresting officer pulled a wrench from beneath his seat, which he told the station sergeant had been found in the arrested man's possession. The suspect was thrown in a cell and held overnight. His shoes were taken from him, and he was convinced they would be used to make footprints in the robbed apartment. It wasn't until the next day that he was allowed to phone his father. Once the police realized they had a member of the wrong social class, the charges were dropped. It also turned out that the woman had only seen the burglar's back.

The riots in Brixton have shown—and not for the first or last time—what results can be expected from this sort of lawless policing. They should also give pause to proponents of the "lock 'em up" school of criminology in the United States. ■ Journalist and translator David H. Rosenthal has lived in London for the last two years.

Lewisham is the frequent site of police "cleanup" operations.

## The Brixton riots were only one more moment in the daily scandal of police harassment within the changing English working class.

smashing doors, making arrests and ransacking apartments. Many parents were also arrested for assaulting the police. In the streets, the SPG conducted itself along similar lines, as can be seen from this account by a black teenager from the Lewisham Moonshot Club.

"To drive a car anytime in Lewisham or New Cross is a big joke, you might as well walk and when you do that you might as well stay inside," he said. "I driving from Lewisham to New Cross and get stopped three times. The whole place full with road blocks, transit vans, police cars, the lot."

In the course of its "cleanup operation" in Lewisham, the SPG stopped 14,000 people but arrested only 400 of them. The total black population of Lewisham is 17,000. From such incidents, the Black Parents' Movement was born to combat police harassment and the sus laws. Arrests of non-whites under these laws in London hover around the 50 percent mark, but subsequent convictions tend to be closer to five percent.

Another early and celebrated case of gratuitous harassment was the 1978 Notting Hill Carnival, a weekend-long West Indian celebration scheduled to end Monday evening. At nine PM sharp, policemen wielding nightsticks and carrying riot shields began dispersing blacks by dragging them off the streets and charging them with "obstruction of a police officer in the course of his duty" and assault.

#### Anti-anti-fascists.

Incidents like the Lewisham cleanup and the Notting Hill Carnival, however, proved to be little more than warmup exercises for what was to follow. In the late '70s, the emergence of the neo-Nazi National Front (NF) Party (which has since declined) provoked a series of bloody battles between the SPG and predominantly non-white demonstrators both in London and elsewhere. Of these battles,

the collar: the officer had a riot shield on his arm and as he pulled the van door open he smashed the youth's face into it and shouted 'Get in there, you black bastard!' It was all quite unnecessary since the boy was quiet. I was trying to get the officer's number when I was hit by a riot shield in the face, quite unnecessarily since I was in nobody's way." Altogether, of 146 demonstrators charged





# Who Needs In Th

**I** think *In These Times* has the potential to become a major American publication as a new left develops to challenge the Reagan administration.

I.F. Stone

**I**n *These Times* provides a unique filter for the world from a people's perspective.

Ruth Messinger  
Member, New York City Council

**C**ongratulations on voicing four years of the people's vision.

Rural America

**I**n *These Times* has been providing coverage that doesn't appear anywhere else on broad and basic trade union issues...I hope you will continue and expand these efforts.

Tom Herriman  
Editor, *Labor Unity*, ACTWU

**T**he 1980's offer the Democratic left our best chance to turn things around. You are playing a vital role in that effort.

Minnesota Farmer Labor Alliance

**I** urge members of each Machinists local to subscribe to *In These Times*.

William Winpisinger  
President, The Machinists

## By James Weinstein

**I**N THESE TIMES, LESS THAN FIVE years old, is the first independent socialist newspaper to have begun publication in the United States in almost 60 years. But it is nevertheless part of two traditions. The first is epitomized by the old *Appeal to Reason*, which started publishing in Girard, Kan., in 1895 and, like *In These Times*, had fewer than 30,000 subscribers at the end of its first five years. But by 1912 the *Appeal to Reason* had grown to have 760,000 subscribers and to be one of the most widely read weeklies in the world. It did so as part of a socialist movement in the United States that was large enough to support 323 daily, weekly and monthly publications, which were read by more than three million people.

That movement and the press it supported dissolved after World War I, when the effects of wartime suppression, the Russian Revolution and the formation of the Communist International splintered the movement in the United States, where it was relatively weak to begin with, just as it did in the rest of the world.

The second and more immediate tradition from which *In These Times* received its impetus was the student and anti-war movement of the '60s. The current within that movement that directly gave rise to the paper was embodied in a bi-monthly journal, published in Madison, Wisc., and then in New York, called *Studies on the Left*.

*Studies* was an American forerunner of Eurocommunism and Euro-socialism. It began, after a hiatus in the U.S. of 35 years, to revive and extend a socialist politics committed to democratic pluralism in both capitalist and socialist society. In opposition to the politics of the old left and to the dominant tendency in the New Left, the editors of *Studies* attempted to go beyond attempts by the left either simply to administer the market economy along liberal lines (the old left) or simply to disrupt the market economy (most of the New Left).

But *Studies on the Left* was itself a victim of the forces that tore the New Left apart in the late '60s. Its own editors—divided on the role of the socialist publication within that movement—decided to end the endeavor in 1967. Two years later, at its disastrous 1969 convention, Students for a Democratic Society gave up the attempt to maintain a democratically structured multi-tendency movement and split into warring sects.

Its remaining leaders, in frustration and anger at the passing of leadership of the anti-war movement to liberal Democrats like Robert Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern, ran off to smash windows and set off bombs. The vast majority, left directionless, melted away.

### Political battlefield.

Meanwhile, a small group of former *Studies* editors and new recruits started putting a new journal together in San Francisco. Named in keeping with the bravado spirit of the day, *Socialist Revolution* began bi-monthly publication in January 1970. (It is still publishing, though now—in keeping with the spirit of today—as *Socialist Review*.)

In its first year or two, working on *SR* often felt like being on Corregidor in 1941. Besieged on all sides by radicals caught up in the mystique of the Weather underground, *SR* nevertheless argues for a socialist politics based on an increasingly diversified and stratified working class; the necessity, therefore, of democratic pluralism; participation as socialists in electoral politics; and the central importance of the developing women's movement as the new dimension of left politics in the '70s.

By the early '70s, there was no longer even the semblance of an organized left in the U.S. The old left had long passed the point of no return and was a collection of proliferating "Marxist-Leninist" sects on the margins of a marginal "broad left." The remnants of the New Left were either hiding out in self-imposed exile or were living in communes and spending their weekends doing target practice or other forms of exemplary

behavior.

Yet all of the conditions that had created the earlier popular left movements in the United States remained. Social disintegration, economic insecurity, poverty, inflation and large-scale unemployment continued in the face of unprecedented prosperity for giant American corporations. The energy crisis made things worse. Political corruption, clandestine and open suppression and a general collapse of morality and morale plagued the U.S. during the Nixon administration until he was forced to resign in 1974. And even without an organized left, millions of Americans were beginning to lose faith, not just in a particular politician or administration, but in the existing system—so much so that responsible conservative politicians

## With help from our friends

We started *In These Times* from point zero. There wasn't a sure-fire list of potential subscribers and there wasn't a lot of money—in fact, we were \$200,000 short of what was needed.

The odds definitely were against us. But in five short years, *In These Times* has won the loyalty of 22,000 subscribers and the public support of more than 70 different left organizations and trade unions. We're proud of this accomplishment. It means that, as we intended back in 1976, the newspaper's editorial perspective is playing an important role in informing and unifying diverse social movements.

As we look to the years ahead—and the challenges facing the American left—the need for *In These Times* is illustrated by the number of activists who now consider us an indispensable source of news and analysis.

You, our readers, have made this success possible. Your contributions

had begun to talk about a "crisis of the regime."

### Small but effective.

Within that political framework we concluded that the creation of an independent socialist newspaper like ours was the most effective way for a small group of people with limited resources to contribute to the

and support have kept us going, and growing, through the best and worst of times. Last year there was a great response to our emergency appeal for funds—more than 1,400 readers contributed money to the newspaper.

This year we find ourselves in a less desperate, but just as serious situation. We must raise \$40,000 in the next two months to insure uninterrupted publication—and a large portion of this money is needed as soon as possible. Your help is crucial if we are to continue our role as a national voice for rallying opposition to the Reagan administration.

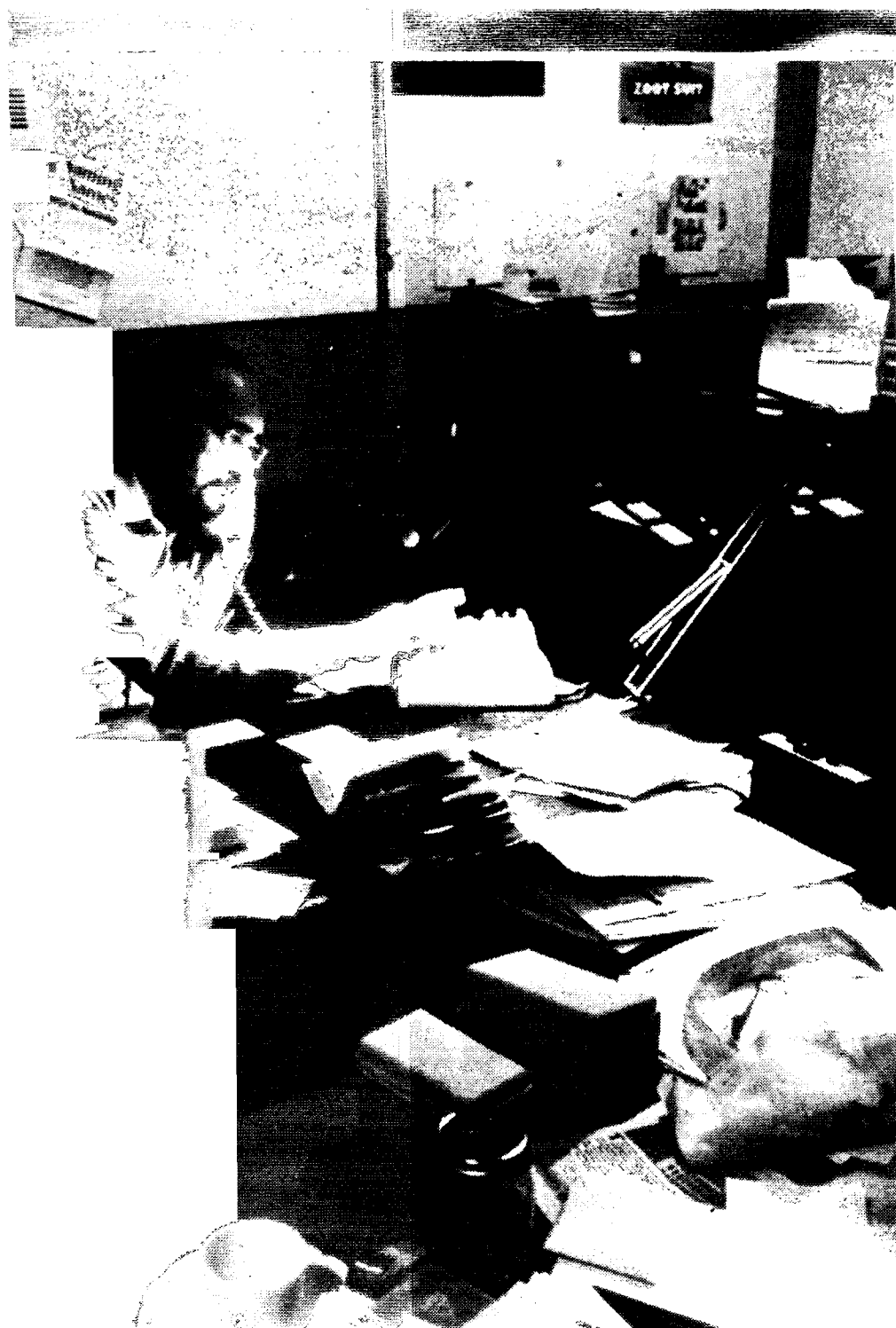
### Shortfall.

Income from all of our operation—subscriptions, single issue sales, advertising, typesetting—falls far short of the cash needed for publication. Like public radio or public television, we provide a service that is not self-supporting but desperately needed. Regular price increases for postage and printing only compound this situation—postal increases in 1981 alone will cost us an additional \$20,000.

Our projected deficit for 1981 is \$250,000. So far, more than 400 readers have contributed, or pledged money, towards meeting this shortfall. We've received \$125,000 in contributions with \$45,000 more pledged for the balance of the year.



# se Times?



development of a new left in American life. We chose to be independent both because there were no socialist organizations with which we could identify without fatally restricting our ability to reach out to a sufficiently large readership to sustain us, and because even within a popular movement for socialism there would be a need for independent

*IN THESE TIMES* editor James Weinstein

critical reporting and analysis.

When we began publication in November 1976, Jimmy Carter had just been elected President. Liberalism was in trouble, but not yet in headlong retreat. During the Carter years there was a modest growth of the socialist and near-socialist

democratic left and a continuation of New Deal and post-war welfare programs, including recently won environmental and occupational safety and health regulations, although even then many of these programs were being cut back. There was also a modest turning to the left in the labor movement on all levels.

Our orientation toward the labor movement and to the mainstream of American politics, which meant toward electoral politics and the activity of left forces like labor, blacks and women in politics, allowed us a modest growth—from an initial 3,000 subscribers to about 18,000 last November—and widespread support from left social activists in many movements, including support from organized labor on a scale that a socialist publication in the U.S. has not enjoyed for 60 years.

In foreign affairs, our primary orientation from the beginning has been on Europe because we believe that the experiences of working-class movements there are most relevant to working people in the U.S. But in Europe, until recently, things looked bleak for the left. Indeed, when Ronald Reagan was elected in a right-wing sweep in 1980, many people saw it as a culmination of a world-wide trend in capitalist nations that had started in France and followed in England with the election of Margaret Thatcher's conservatives.

## Bad news, good news.

Throughout 1980 things looked bleak, and that affected *In These Times*. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the Iranian seizure of the American hostages became the occasion for a rightward swing in Carter administration policies and for a bipartisan move toward increased military spending and Cold War policies in the Middle East and Latin America, a trend accelerated by Reagan's election.

But the extreme pessimism on the left has clearly not been justified. In Europe the most important opening toward democratization has occurred and is continuing, despite Soviet efforts to stop it, in Poland. In England the Labour Party has moved

sharply to the left, and in the recent local council elections has made a stunning comeback against the Conservatives. And of course France has elected the first socialist government, and the largest governing majority in Parliament since the new constitution was adopted in the late '60s.

Even here at home things have not been going entirely as the Reagan administration would like, despite the collapse of any serious opposition from the Democrats in Congress—with the important exception of the Black Congressional Caucus. Reagan's policy for Latin America, which has had its trial balloon in El Salvador, has met stiff popular opposition—some 90 percent of the American people oppose intervention there. Because of that even Congress has begun to stand up to the administration on this. In domestic areas opposition is developing, as it did in stopping the Social Security cuts, in apparently saving NEA and NEH, and community legal services. And except for the weeks immediately after he was shot, Reagan's popularity has been lower in the polls than that of any other recent president at a corresponding point in his first term.

## A new socialist left.

There is a basis for a left opposition to Reaganism and an opportunity to build a left that can not only stop administration policies in coming years, but also go beyond the liberalism of the New Deal and the Great Society. To do that will require a new kind of socialist left in the U.S., one that operates as a socialist tendency within the mainstream of politics—either as members of a major party or as third parties or independents in places where the possibility of election is real.

In this process, *In These Times* can play a vital part as the only independent weekly newspaper committed to democratic pluralism both within capitalist society and within the socialist movement. There are already indications that we are benefitting from a stiffening resistance to Reaganism. We depend on you to continue this trend.

We also have grant applications pending for another \$35,000. In short, our base of support is stronger than ever before with tentative commitments that bring us very close to our goal. But we still need to raise \$40,000 to meet the projected deficit. This lump sum is at the root of our current problem.

Most of our remaining pledges are scheduled to arrive at the end of the year. Simply put, the money we still need to raise is needed right now—during the summer months when operating income traditionally is at its lowest level. Contributions and operating income will increase in the fall, but we must meet our immediate cash needs to survive the summer.

We started *In These Times* knowing it would operate at a deficit—this is an unfortunate reality. We also believed that, over time, the newspaper would attract enough support to keep it going. So far, this has been true, although it has always been a struggle to keep our noses above water.

Despite our problems, we remain committed to bringing you the news

and analysis you've come to rely on, that you won't find anywhere else and that is needed now, more than ever. But to keep our promise—we must have your help.

If you've read this far, and you believe that *In These Times* is a necessary and valuable publication, please respond to our appeal and urge others also to come to the aid of the newspaper. There are several things you can do to help us raise the needed \$40,000:

- Send a tax deductible contribution, made out to The Institute for Policy Studies today. Every dollar helps—large sums help even more.
- Pledge an additional sum to be paid at a later date this year.
- Join the 200 sustainers who pledge \$5.00 to \$100 a month for the next twelve months.
- Become a yearly donor to the Publishers Fund and help the newspaper plan its growth in the years ahead. This involves making a minimum pledge of \$500 or more in each of the next three years.

Whatever the form of your contribution, clip the coupon below and send it to *In These Times* today.

We need your support now, so that we can continue to speak out for you in the months ahead.

—Bob Nicklas

## Clip This Coupon

Mail to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

I will contribute to the Publishers' Fund as follows:

\$ _____	in 1981
\$ _____	in 1982
\$ _____	in 1983

All Sustainers and contributors of \$100 or more yearly will automatically receive a one year renewal.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Your contribution is tax deductible if made out to the Institute for Policy Studies and mailed to the above address.

Enclosed is my tax deductible contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

I pledge an additional \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to be sent on \_\_\_\_\_ (date), 1981.

Enroll me as a Sustainer with a pledge of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ month.



## EDITORIAL

*The bombing will not bring security*

There are those, like Menachem Begin and the *New Republic*, who argue that Israel did the world and itself a favor by blowing up Iraq's nuclear research facilities in a June 7 raid. But it can be argued more plausibly that Israel's pre-emptive strike laid the basis for future wars and even for Israel's extinction.

At the June 10-20 symposium in Chicago on the arms race, George Rathjens, an MIT political scientist who has served as a U.S. Special Representative for Non-Proliferation matters, made a point that is relevant to the Israeli raid (see page 6). As an expert in non-proliferation, Rathjens is also skeptical about any attempt to curb the spread of nuclear weapons through international inspection. Rathjen's argument is that if a country wants to make a bomb, it will find a way to do so. He thinks that there are two prerequisites to preventing proliferation and the use of weapons. First, the U.S. and Soviet Union must set an example by beginning to curb their own

arms production—a point that is easily lost on the Reagan administration. Second, countries that are hopelessly enmeshed in bitter conflict—like the countries of the Middle East, Southern Asia, and the Korean Peninsula—must reach political agreements that remove the causes for repeated wars and threats of war.

"Because the technology to make weapons is so widespread, the only way to prevent their use and production is to reduce the motivation of nations to acquire them," Rathjens argued. "The Carter administration's greatest success in this respect was the Camp David Agreement because it reduced Egypt's motivation. It reduced that nation's sense of insecurity."

Rathjens' point is relevant to the Israeli raid in this way: the raid merely postponed the acquisition of nuclear weapons by a country hostile to Israel. And far from preventing their future use, the raid motivated countries to use them against



Israel—to prevent a pre-emptive strike and to retaliate for Israel's initial raid against Iraq's facilities. As the Syrian government has correctly noted, it would take only three atomic bombs to render Israel virtually uninhabitable.

Israel's only means of providing long-

term national security is by making peace with its neighbors, and the key to peace is settlement of the Palestinian question. As long as the Palestinians inside Israel and in the occupied territories are denied their political rights, Israel's survival will be threatened.

*The French alliance of socialism and liberty*

The Socialist Party's remarkable victories in France's presidential and parliamentary elections have sharply altered European politics and set the stage for a dramatic new experiment in the building of a socialist society. Under the leadership of Francois Mitterrand, the Socialists are firmly grounded in the belief that the freedom promised by Western civilization ever since the French Revolution can only be attained through economic as well as political democracy. Mitterrand has vowed to "achieve an alliance between socialism and liberty." Socialists around the world will eagerly watch and learn as the French attempt to clear the obstacles along the road toward this goal.

The Socialists' victory ends an era when Communist preeminence over the French left stifled its growth and development. Ever since the establishment of the Fifth Republic, the right has discredited the ideals of socialism and maintained itself in power by identifying the left with Soviet Communism and its oppressive disregard for democratic pluralism and individual freedom. The French Communist Party's blind adherence to the Moscow line as well as its lack of internal democracy lent credence to the bogey. The Socialists rose to power only after vehemently opposing Soviet policies. Mitterrand's pledge to combine socialism and liberty—indeed his contention that socialism is the best way to attain liberty—ultimately succeeded in winning supporters away from the Communists and the right.

The withering away of the French Communist Party, the most powerful pro-Moscow party in the West, indicates that old-line Communism is losing its grip over European workers. The decline of the French Communists and the current struggle of workers in Poland are two examples of the popular rejection of authoritarianism in industrial societies.

But while the Socialists have prevailed in the struggle between left and right within France, they are still very much enmeshed in the rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States on the international plane. Here the Socialists' denunciation of the Soviets has laid the basis for their support of the U.S. To the extent that the Socialists remain true to their values, their relations with the U.S. will be riddled with tensions. How can

they denounce the Soviet Union's lack of political freedom and not denounce American support for the oppressive regimes in South Africa, Argentina, El Salvador and Guatemala?

**The arms race.**

While there are indications that the French Socialists will take the lead in enunciating an independent European stand in North-South issues, Mitterrand's conception of balance of power politics distressingly subordinates European interests in disarmament to the dictates of the nuclear arms race. Despite the widespread popular support for disarmament



in France and throughout Europe (ITT, June 6), the Socialists have favored "technological mastery" of the neutron bomb (ITT, July 16, 1980) and have decided to continue testing of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. They also have emphatically supported the plan to place 572 new American medium range missiles in Europe.

Mitterrand's backing of this buildup is based on the rationale that it is a necessary response to the Soviet placement of SS-20 missiles in Eastern Europe. The French president contends that the new American missiles will restore a balance of power—admittedly tilted in favor of the West—that is the sole basis from which disarmament may proceed. Mitterrand's position ignores the competitive, leapfrog logic of the nuclear arms race.

It assumes, along with the American right, that the introduction of cruise and Pershing missiles will intimidate the Soviets into disarmament negotiations rather than spur them to improve their bargaining position by introducing new weapons of their own. The history of the nuclear arms race stands as evidence against Mitterrand's position.

Plagued with a stagflation whose dimensions are remarkably similar to that in the U.S.—nearly 14 percent inflation and 8 percent unemployment—the Socialists' election constitutes a popular affirmation of a program that differs considerably from that of the Reagan administration. While Reagan's solution to stagflation lies in redistributing income from the poor to the rich, Mitterrand has espoused a program to resolve France's economic problems by improving the position of the lower end of the income scale and by gaining control over investment decisions.

*Mitterrand is preparing to move forward with caution.*

The Socialists' economic program is a very mixed bag. Its primary thrust is to reduce unemployment. It contains policies whose roots can be found in such diverse sources as the British Labour Party under Harold Wilson, Keynesian economics and some of the most innovative socialist economists on the contemporary scene.

The heart of the Socialists' economic program is based on a neo-Keynesian proposal to augment the income of those with low incomes in order to stimulate demand. Through such a program, Mitterrand hopes to redress France's income inequalities and at the same time revive the economy. He took the first steps on June 3 when he raised the minimum wage by 10 percent, increased old age pensions by 20 percent and hiked family allowances and low-income housing subsidies by 25 percent. At the same time, Budget Minister Laurent Fabius announced that taxes on high salaries, expense accounts and excessive corporate earnings would be levied to help pay for it. Such measures will help to reduce the disparities in Europe's most inegalitarian society.

The theory behind this aspect of the Socialists' economic program is that the increased demand will be absorbed by the

economy's unutilized capacity. Mitterrand also plans to stimulate investment. There is a real danger that investment may be insufficient to produce enough goods to meet the newly stimulated demand. With prime interest rates in the U.S. hovering at 20 percent, there are attractive alternatives to encourage capital flight. The Socialists have erected exchange controls and increased interest rates of greater than 20 percent have created a credit shortage for French businesses. The proposed nationalization of the remaining banks and insurance companies that were not already nationalized by De Gaulle may help make capital available, but the Socialists will have to be careful to avoid a situation where the increase in demand is not met by new investment. That may require social investment.

The most innovative aspects of the Socialist program will probably be their efforts to foster decentralization. The trade unions in France have long been advocates of "autogestion" (worker self-management). Now France has a president who has pledged to foster "a decentralization that would lead to a rapprochement between decision and the very places where they have an effect." Michel Rocard, leader of a more conservative faction in the party, has advocated strengthening locally elected government, and Jacques Attali, a close economic adviser to the president, has argued forcefully in favor of making major social investments on the community level. Mitterrand's government has yet to formulate its plans for decentralization, but the appointment of Gaston Defferre, the long-time mayor of Marseille, as Minister of the Interior and Decentralization emphasizes the importance that Mitterrand places on increasing local control over the economy in the most centralized state in Europe.

With the Socialist government's plan to disband France's State Security Court—a body that tries suspected spies and terrorists in secret without the right of appeal, its proposal to amend the more oppressive aspects of the criminal law code and its promise to allow the free operation of the press exemplified by its dropping of the prosecution of the newspapers *Le Monde* and *Liberation*, France is likely to become a center of political freedom.

Prudent but resolute pursuit of the Socialists' economic objectives will accelerate the trend toward the left now emerging in Western Europe. A European Economic Community dedicated to democratic socialism would make much more far-reaching changes possible.



# LETTERS

*IN THESE TIMES* is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## BETTER MOUSETRAPS

CONCERNING GENERAL ELECTRIC'S lack of effort to produce an energy-efficient lightbulb ("The Lightbulb at the End of the Tunnel" *ITT*, May 6). David Talbot overlooked the most important fact: GE is one of the nation's largest producers of electricity.

With this in mind, their policy immediately makes sense. Hollister's improved bulb is four times as energy-efficient as the incandescent, so were the new bulbs in general use, GE would sell one-fourth as much electricity for home lighting.

Remember also that incandescent bulbs last 750 hours, while the new ones last 10,000—13½ times as long. This means that the new ones would have to cost 13½ times as much for GE to realize the same profit on the bulbs themselves. GE not only had nothing to gain from an energy-efficient bulb, it would have made a smaller profit. The only reason the company is now working on an efficient bulb is that Hollister's company is going to produce them and people would otherwise stop buying GE's bulbs.

I would bet the same principle is involved with those refrigerators that are poorly insulated and have heaters in the doors. See if they aren't made by a company that also produces electricity, like GE or Westinghouse. If not, perhaps much of the stock is owned by people who also hold stock in power companies.

—C. Cares  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

## ONE MORE TIME

AS I SEEM TO HAVE UPSET THE HISTORICAL sensibilities of both Robert St.-Cyr and Jeff Tarbox (*ITT*, June 16) by my perspective on British imperialism in Ireland, I would like to respond to their critiques. While St.-Cyr's diatribe is not to be confused with Tarbox's more honest—though culturally insensitive—attempt at setting the record straight, both conveniently ignore my central proposition: that an imperialistic policy of genocide, oppression and torture will generate underground resistance (the IRA in this case) and that the British government has no defensible rationale for being in Ireland.

Although this is not the proper forum for a detailed rebuttal, some of St.-Cyr's points are too blatantly distorting to ignore. For example, his fine distinction between mere "abuses and beatings" and torture. Let him try that one on the prisoners in Long Kesh or anyone with a shred of human empathy. The British, under the "new system" touted by St.-Cyr, have perfected a system of "low intensity operations" in Irish prisons. This includes the use of "white noise"—an 85 to 87 decibel hissing, mushy sound designed to reduce men to screams as their eardrums burst. Brigadier Frank Kitson, the army commander in Belfast during the late '60s and early '70s, has written a book on his experiments there which has become a big hit in intelligence circles. Amnesty International has documented that 70 to 90 percent of convictions are based on confessions made under interrogation. Is it likely that hardened IRA veterans would admit guilt after a "mere" beating? A further bit of evidence regarding this new system may be of interest. A letter smuggled out of K-Block dated July 25, 1980, and written on toilet paper

described the standard body search, a daily ritual. "They were held upside down by the feet and a pair of long-nosed pliers were inserted into their back passages. After that they were badly beaten." Was this included on the closed-circuit TV described by St.-Cyr as an example of the protection of "detainees" rights? And if so, who was doing the monitoring?

The main point remains that after 750 years of odious imperialistic presence, it is time for the Brits to get out—absolutely and unconditionally, *in secula seculorum*.

—Thomas J. Rice  
Boston, Mass.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

READERS OF *IN THESE TIMES* MIGHT consider the following statistics with regard to your paper's increasingly fine Northern Irish coverage:

Unemployment in certain nationalist neighborhoods in Belfast has now reached 50 percent.

The number of now uninhabitable dwellings in some of these very same neighborhoods has reached 45 to 60 percent. (Think of the South Bronx.)

In such conditions—IRA, CBS, DDT, it really doesn't matter—such neighborhoods are by definition breeding grounds for violence and revolution.

As of May 1981, 246 civilians had been killed in Northern Ireland as a result of paramilitary activity—135 by the IRA (both factions); 111 by the UDA/UVF.

As of May 1981, 794 citizens of Northern Ireland had been killed by paramilitary assassination—298 by the IRA (both factions); 496 by the UDA/UVF (the Loyalist paramilitary organizations).

Yet, as of today, the IRA alone has been outlawed.

And finally, as Thomas J. Rice points out in the pages of your paper—as of 1979, 78 percent of the people in the Republic of Ireland favored British withdrawal and Irish unification; whereas, according to the latest newspaper poll in Great Britain, 63 percent of the English people favor the very same policy.

These facts, I believe, form the outline and general contour inside which informed journalism on the North can and should be written. As Pope John XXIII has written: "Peace is not the absence of violence. It is the presence of justice."

—Bob Callahan  
Editor, Callahan's Irish Quarterly

## SIMPLE MINDED

MARTHA ROSLER'S "A REVOLUTION in living color" (*ITT*, June 17) is a pure example of the sterility of pseudo-leftist criticism. As someone who has recently interviewed both Susan Meiselas and Don McCullin, I find Rosler's remarks less than simple minded. The logic of her arguments is what is most amusing. Early in the article she unveils the core of her "systematic" analysis of Meiselas' photographs of Nicaragua: "Central to the book is that the photos are in color." Aha! Rosler then proceeds to the next plateau: "Color photography is most widely used in advertising." The all-important link has been illuminated; Meiselas, we must now see, is one of "them." Rosler is building toward the now inevitable conclusion (in the last line of her article)

that Meiselas' photos are derivative in style from that of "the fertile exoticism of fashion photography." After all, the people in her pictures are wearing clothes...

It is insulting that the editors at *In These Times* put the work of important photojournalists like Meiselas and McCullin in the hands of an insensitive, weak-minded, struggle-happy academic. Even if Meiselas did use color film (imagine the loss to the left if Robert Kapa had!), and even if John le Carre did write an embarrassing introduction to McCullin's book, the photographs under discussion here are important not because they illustrate an ideology, but because through them one can feel and experience the lives of people in revolution and under oppression. In other words, they respect the individual lives that form the masses that move the world. These aren't rhetorical photos: their populism isn't in the head, but in the pit of the stomach.

—Joe Cuomo, producer  
WBAI-FM Pacifica Radio  
New York

## SHAME AND "HEROINES"

WHEN MY SUBSCRIPTION EXPIRES this summer, I shall not resubscribe to your so-called socialist newspaper.

After giving a centerfold portrait of a woman who could find her counterpart in Nazi Germany—Phyllis Schlafly—I feel that you are merely exploiting socialist ideas to get an audience which seeks honesty and integrity in newswriting. You have neither. Whatever motivated you to make a "feminist" heroine out of a woman who would deprive millions of women of their right to choose abortion. The publication of her story is a betrayal of socialist principles. My feeling is that you have accepted a big bribe from the public relations people for Phyllis Schlafly and that you are a corrupt crowd unworthy of support.

Poor Phyllis Schlafly—she has no access to the media, so *In These Times* comes to her rescue and makes a feminist heroine out of her. For shame.

—Charlotte Stern  
New York

*Pat Aufderheide replies: Phyllis Schlafly is a public figure who feminists ignore at our peril. Sydney Weisman's interview reveals Schlafly's motivation and perspective, which differ from the facile version of her views portrayed both in the mainstream media and within the left.*

## EXEMPLARY ACTION

ENCLOSED ARE TWO CHECKS—ONE for two gift subs, and one as a contribution. Diana Johnstone is always a pleasure to read; now that there's exciting news from Europe it's wonderful to be able to hear it from her. In general, I find myself depending more on *In These Times*. John Judis' article on NATO (*ITT*, June 3), with its breathtakingly clear concluding paragraph on the new economic and military realities confronting America, is the kind of thing I've come to depend on. *In These Times* helps me to stay sane; without it, I'd be even more depressed by the triumph of the American right than I am.

—Steve Golin  
Glen Ridge, Ill.

## CHECK YOUR FACTS

THE NEXT TIME JOHN JUDIS WANTS to demonstrate that his concern for human rights extends even to those who don't share his political ideology, let him check his facts before he impugns the professional probity of another journalist. In his report on the Lefever confirmation hearings (*ITT*, May 27), Judis falsely claims that "in October 1979 Lefever's Center paid *Fortune* writer Herman Nickel \$5,000 to do a

study on the infant formula controversy." As Judis could easily have established (even by checking back issues of *In These Times*), I never received a penny from Lefever's Center, for the simple reason that I never delivered my study. In my contract, signed in November 1979, I had taken the special precaution of insisting that none of the funding for my study could come from the infant food industry. Thus the revelation that Lefever subsequently accepted general contributions from Nestle voided that contract. These facts being well known, a retraction and apology from Judis and *In These Times* would seem to be in order.

—Herman Nickel  
Washington, D.C.

*Editor's note: Herman Nickel is correct. We apologize for the error, which was unintentional.*

## IMPACT

THE CONTRIBUTION YOU ARE MAKING for the development of a democratic socialist movement in this country is unparalleled. I can honestly say that *In These Times* has had a profound impact on my life. People like me should be tithing to *ITT*.

Please keep up the outstanding work. I hope my donation helps.

—Raphael P. Rowan  
New York

## KEY ISSUE

DAVID MANDEL (*ITT*, June 3) WRITES with his usual anti-Israel overtones, vitiating anything of value that he has to say. He labels the "key issue" as "lack of Palestinian self-determination." However, the key issue—and the key to Palestinian self-determination—is the basic non-acceptance of Israel's existence by the PLO and the majority of Arab states. Mandel's continued failure to understand this allows him to ridicule the propensity of Israelis to rally round the flag—"national consensus"—where matters of national security are involved. Of course, the need for national consensus to face alleged threats are easily manipulable by all governments, including Israel's. But nowhere else does the basis for "national consensus" so urgently exist as it does in Israel where losing a war involves national extinction and possible genocide.

—Irving Weinstein  
Far Rockaway, N.Y.

*Editor's note: David Mandel is an Israeli concerned with Israeli policy. For there to be a settlement in the Middle East the PLO and the Arab nations must recognize Israel's right to exist, but an Israeli policy that does not recognize Palestinian rights makes that impossible. One side has to take the first step. It is precisely because Israel can afford to lose only one war, while the Arabs can lose an infinite number, that Israel has the greater interest in reconciliation. For that reason, and because an Israeli can only influence Israeli policy, Mandel emphasizes Palestinian rights.*

## A WEST COAST BUREAU

*IN THESE TIMES* IS PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE the opening of a West Coast Bureau in Oakland, Calif. We intend to expand our coverage of the entire region, including the Mountain states, the Pacific coast and the Mexican border.

Bureau chief Thomas Brom will coordinate writing assignments and story editing. He is joined by *In These Times* co-publisher Bill Sennett, promotion director Chrys Dougherty, and by Lee Marsh, Kerry Trenain and Richard Parker in the Bureau advisory board.

We encourage you to submit articles, story ideas and news on your organization to the Bureau. The office is located at 1419 Broadway, #702, Oakland, CA 94612. Telephone (415) 834-3015.



ROBERTA LYNCH

## A time for regroupment, but not for despair

By Roberta Lynch

**T**HE WINDS OUT OF WASHINGTON are about as ill as they blow when it comes to women these days. And while it is clear that the Reagan administration sees feminists and their organizations as its principal nemeses, women of every political stripe (as well as those of no particular political bent) are going to find themselves in the center of the storm.

Drastic cutbacks in food stamps and other anti-poverty measures will have a disproportionate impact on women—who are disproportionately poor in our society.

There is the unveiled hostility to the passage of the ERA and the barely veiled antagonism to other measures designed to promote equal opportunity, particularly in the workforce.

There are the array of assaults on reproductive freedom—ranging from the appointments of anti-choice advocates to head the Department of Health and Human Services and the Surgeon-General's office to the introduction of a bill that could make any woman in this country liable for prosecution should she suffer a miscarriage.

And there is—underlying it all—a firm devotion to the resuscitation of the myths that have served to maintain the institutions of male supremacy and the illusions of male superiority in American life.

It is no small coincidence that the paean to capitalism—George Gilder's *Wealth and Poverty*—is being described as David Stockman's bible and hailed as a "guide" by members of the administration. For at the heart of this work is a theme developed more thoroughly and forthrightly in the author's earlier books: that the essential engine of human progress is male aggression channeled into constructive economic activity by the need to support wife and children. Women's role in this social scenario is clearly and rigidly defined: She is confined within the physical borders of the home and the psychic borders of wife/mother. It does not seem unfair to presume that Gilder's promoters share his fundamental tenet: that female dependency is inextricably linked to capitalist expansion.

It is little wonder, then, that the women's movement is feeling threatened. Those who currently hold the reins of power clearly see in even its smallest victory a dynamic that furthers the erosion of the given order. And they are not diffident in their opposition.

From a feminist standpoint, it is clearly a moment for regroupment. But it is not a moment for despair. The movement is already reassessing old approaches and experiencing a surge of new members. Perhaps more important, there are broader forces at work that will have a profound impact on its program and potential.

The reality of American life in the '80s is that the nuclear family as we have known it—working father, non-working mother, two and a half children—is no longer the dominant form of social organization. Moreover, the vast alterations in family and work patterns that have occurred over the past decade have not been the result of some feminist fiat, but of changes in our fortunes and our cultural mores.

One result is that there are today a significant number of women of all social backgrounds and ideological persuasions who have two fundamental things in common: they work outside the home; and they have the sole—or primary—responsibility for their own and their children's support.

A second outcome is that women are playing a more active role in certain in-



stitutions that act as cultural mediators between the public world of work and politics and the private world of home and family.

The implication of this new reality are barely beginning to make their way into our consciousness. But they have produced millions of women who do not necessarily wear any feminist label, but whose own experiences have generated new awareness and new needs. Let me give some concrete examples of this process.

Women have entered the workforce in record numbers in the past 10 years. Spurred primarily by economic necessity, many women were also influenced by the promise of wider opportunities. They have largely been disappointed. Well over two-thirds of women who work remain "ghettoized" in what have traditionally been female jobs. And women still earn far less than men—only 59¢ on the \$1.

In the wake of such segregation and inequity, two trends have begun to develop. One is the issue of pay equity or comparable pay for work of comparable value—an attempt to address the reality that women by and large work at different jobs than men. While these jobs may require equivalent skills, experience, or education, there can be (and are) great differences in pay scales. Based on a system of

rating various elements of a job, this approach challenges one of the basic underpinnings of the dual labor market—wage differentials left untouched by requirements for equal pay for equal work.

A related development is the recent effort to unionize women office workers—the largest single category of women workers. The visible and rapid growth of working women's organizations across the country has helped to generate awareness of poor working conditions, low pay and lack of respect that characterize clerical jobs. Now several labor unions are beginning to try to translate this recognition into the kind of institutionalized strength and solidarity that only a union can provide. A recent alliance between the Service Employees International Union and Working Women, a national organization of women office workers, is designed to develop innovative approaches to organizing that take into account the special needs and concerns that women in the labor force face today.

A second example of the expanded participation of women involves far fewer numbers, but could also provide an important element in redefining female roles. While neighborhood/community/civic organizations have been around for a good while, it wasn't until the '70s that they emerged as a visible and vocal force for social change. While such groups have often taken different forms in black and white communities, a common char-

acteristic has been the emergence of strong and articulate women in leadership positions.

Most of these women were new to political activism—in fact had never previously thought of themselves as being "political" at all. They got involved out of their immediate concerns for better streets, schools—community life. In the course of that involvement, however, they frequently began to make connections to larger issues and to develop a new confidence in their potential to affect the world.

These organizations also have scores of women members whose participation has brought them into alliance with other forces and helped them to develop an awareness of the importance of collective action in solving problems.

On the job, in the community—and in many other forums—women who do not think of themselves as feminists are encountering the barriers that our society has erected to women's full participation, developing new skills and self-confidence, and learning the lessons of standing up to power by standing together. If the women's movement can find a way to draw on their strengths and to encompass their concerns, it will be able to face the hard times that are upon us with even greater organizational fortitude and political potency.

Roberta Lynch is active in the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.



JOSHUA DRESSLER

## The Court may be worse without Potter Stewart

By Joshua Dressler

**W**ITH THE ANNOUNCEMENT by Justice Potter Stewart of his resignation from the United States Supreme Court, substantial change on the high court is likely to occur, and even sooner than expected.

All observers have assumed that Ronald Reagan would have the opportunity to make a large number of appointments to the nine-person court. It seemed plausible that there might be five vacancies in the next four years. Stewart, however, was not expected to be one of them. Comparatively young by Court standards (66), and in good health, his unexpected decision may mean that Reagan will replace two-thirds of the current court personnel. Because Nixon had four appointments, Ford one, but Carter none, this historical accident will most probably make the Supreme Court a virtual sub-cabinet of Republicanism.

Stewart was not a "liberal" on the Court, in the tradition of current Justices William Brennan and Thurgood Marshall, or previous judges like Earl Warren. Nor was he a great judge. A 1970 polling of law scholars rated Stewart average at that time. But he was no arch conservative or judicial incompetent, as

some judges are or have been. He was a hard worker who authored a remarkable number of very important opinions. Although a swing vote on a divided court, he had strong principles, which his opinions consistently and predictably demonstrated.

As a criminal law observer, I can speak to his impact in this area. It has been substantial. He has probably authored more opinions in the field than any judge currently on the bench. Generally, although not always, he spoke out in favor of due process and civil liberties.

Stewart regularly held that warrants for arrests and searches should be obtained by police whenever it is practicable to do so. Usually he thought it was practicable. This is in stark contrast to the view of various other judges, especially Burger, Rehnquist and White, who believe that searches can, and usually are, reasonable without the "hindrance" of judicially supervised warrants.

Stewart has demanded, among other things, that people not be arrested in their homes without warrants, and he has said that "the word 'automobile' is not a talisman in whose presence the Fourth Amendment [the protection against unreasonable searches and seizures] fades away and disappears." He has opposed the tide of the Court to view our automobiles as fair game for nearly any type of governmental invasion.

Although Stewart opposed the famous

*Miranda* decision, which requires that persons accused of crime be informed of their right to remain silent, he had grudgingly accepted the decision, and has been the primary author of most of the important decisions insuring such persons the right to a lawyer during police interrogations.

So much for Justice Stewart. The Court could do better, but it could more easily do worse. It probably will. In the past, a few, but not many, judges have been appointed to the Court largely because of their great stature as legal minds. Much more often, appointments have been made for political or ideological reasons, usually without concern for competence. Occasionally such appointees have grown into the job. Earl Warren, an Eisenhower political decision, and Hugo Black, a similar FDR appointment, are examples of justices who grew.

In California, then-Governor Reagan made a few early judicial appointments of high quality. His initial appointee to the state supreme court, however, turned out to be too independent of Reagan and the latter's narrow political values, and so the governor made sure in his later court appointments that they were of his ilk. One choice to the then-prestigious Court was William Clark. Clark, not even a law school graduate, lived down to his credentials before becoming Reagan's Under Secretary of State. (Remember Clark? He's the one who barely knows where Africa is.)

The future, then, for civil libertarians looks bleak, even more so, and sooner, than expected. As Congress tells us when life begins and busing ends; and as poor people are denied food stamps while gay people are denied legal aid, there seems little reason to believe that the Supreme Court will be a beacon of hope.

Joshua Dressler teaches law at Hamline University Law School.



# PERSPECTIVES

## Women cheated by Social Security

By Gregory Bergman

**T**HROUGH ALL THE RECENT debate on Social Security, one simple fact has emerged—the present system cheats women. It ignores their labor as homemakers, refuses to compensate them for the economic sacrifices of child-rearing, and then penalizes them for retiring early when spouses die.

"The only thing missing in the Reagan administration proposals is the requirement that women start wearing veils," said Rep. Andrew Jacobs (D-Ind.) during hearings of the House Ways and Means subcommittee on Social Security. "I suppose if they were faceless people, the White House would have an easier time making these cuts."

*When Social Security was set up in 1936, women were seen only as widows. Now 47 percent work.*

"It's a national scandal," says Rep. Mary Rose Oaker (D-Ohio), chair of a House task force on Social Security and women. And Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization of Women, adds, "Social Security has left our mothers in poverty."

Older women are in fact the fastest growing sector of poor people in the United States. The unmarried among them—widowed, divorced or single—account for 72 percent of all elderly poor. In 1979, the median benefit for women over 65 was \$2,813. For men it was \$5,479. Yet Social Security is the only income for 60 percent of all women receiving it.

The differential impact of the Reagan cuts—and the inequities of the present system—remain hidden beneath a mountain of recent testimony on whether or not Social Security pays for itself. Only a small core of women's advocates—and women members of the House—have challenged fundamental assumptions in the law.

### Institutional bias.

Part of the problem is that the Social Security system as initially set up in the '30s considered women mainly as dependents of their working husbands, as widows, as survivors. But now 47 percent of women are in the paid work force, and divorce has become common.

The dual role of women, as both homemakers and workers in paid employment, is not adequately recognized in the system, which has failed to keep up with these changes.

The Reagan administration's proposal to reduce benefits for those choosing early retirement would have hit women much harder than men because 70 percent of all women have chosen early retirement since it became available in 1962, despite reduced benefits. As Frances Leonard of the Older Women's League of Oakland, Calif. says, retiring early is "often not a comfortable option, but a hard necessity."

This fact, and the storm of protest

against the administration's early retirement proposal proved too much even for the Republican-controlled Senate. After the Democratic caucus made clear that it would oppose the cuts, the Senate passed a resolution 96-0 to retain early retirement benefits at 80 percent of entitlement.

### How the law cheats women.

But according to Representative Oaker, Social Security "cheats women" in

per about this kind of problem."

### Reagan makes it worse.

Other Reagan measures affect women more than men. Changing the requirement for disability benefits to require seven-and-one half years of work in the previous ten, (up from five years at present) would screen out most women because they most frequently have interrupted employment because of child-bearing and rearing. Under the present law only about 40 percent of women, compared to about 90 percent of men, are covered by disability insurance, says the AFL-CIO's Smedley.

The Reagan proposal to eliminate the minimum benefit (now \$122 a month) would especially hit minority women, who often have low-paying jobs in domestic or other work, in which, in addition, employers commonly fail to make social security contributions. More than three-fourths of all minimum benefit payments now go to women.

The elimination of the surviving children benefit for 18-to-22 year olds going to school full time also affects women

sentative, Bert Seidman, told the House Ways and Means Committee on March 17 that "The United States is one of the few advanced industrial nations in the world in which the social security system is financed almost entirely from payroll taxes." The AFL-CIO also favors taxing the upper range of payrolls, now exempt above \$29,700 a year.

### Reforming the law.

Options exist for resolving the inequities to women in the current law. Great Britain uses a system of homemaking credits to compensate women for their child-raising years. Women receive credits for any period of homemaking during which they care for a child or disabled relative, just as if it were paid work.

Switzerland also gives such credits to all married women, widows and divorced women, whether or not the marriage produced children.

In an earlier Congress, Representatives Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.) introduced legislation similar to the British model, but it made no progress in the House. The U.S., however, has given Social Security credits to the military since 1940. Congress used the credits as a means to sweeten an otherwise low-paying job, paying for them out of general revenues. If it can be done for the military, Frances Leonard argues in the June 1981, *Hastings Law Journal*, it can be done for homemakers.

Another measure, the Earnings Sharing bill (HR 1513) by Rep Oaker, is based on the philosophy that marriage is a partnership, and that the contributions of each spouse are of equal value whether the work is performed in or outside the home.

Under provisions of the bill, a person's Social Security benefits would be based on total earnings if single, and one-half of combined earnings if married. Credits would be moveable in the event of divorce or retirement.

On principle, earnings sharing is "a giant step forwards towards recognition of homemaking as work," says Tish Sommers of the Older Women's League. It also has positive features for divorced women, she says, and "might even have the effect of discouraging husbands from discarding old wives" since the Oaker bill permits the earnings of a working wife to increase the size of retirement benefits.

### Seniors organize.

None of these changes are being contemplated by the Reagan administration, but they are on the agenda of senior organizations across the country. Both the AARP and the union-based National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC) are in the process of strengthening their grass roots network. The AARP has some 5,000 local chapters, and another structure of 16,000 volunteer activists, composed of the presidents and legislative chairpersons of the chapters. Director William Hutton of the NCSC has directed all local chapters to form coalitions with like-minded groups.

A national coalition, Save Our Security, (SOS) is initiating a lobby in Washington, headed by Wilbur J. Cohen, former secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson. Members of SOS include: Lane Kirkland, president, AFL-CIO; Douglas Fraser, president, United Auto Workers; the National Council of Catholic Charities; National Council of Senior Citizens; National Black Caucus on Aging; Disabled American Veterans, and many others.

President Reagan is now taking a soft approach to those on the pension rolls because they vote in greater numbers than other age groups, and have generally voted on the conservative side. While keeping that group mollified and quiescent, however, Reagan proposes cuts for future retirees, for the disabled, surviving children and others. And, more threatening, administration spokespeople create an inter-generational conflict by expressing great concern for social security payroll taxes, suggesting that fewer and fewer workers will be supporting more and more elderly as the years go on. ■

Gregory Bergman is a veteran journalist in Berkeley, California.



many other ways—especially by failing to recognize their contributions as homemakers. The present law, for example, permits only a 5-year "drop-out" period from wage labor. If a mother chooses to raise a family for 10 or 15 years, her monthly benefits at retirement will be reduced because the base period in the formula remains artificially high. Larry Smedley of the AFL-CIO's Social Security division says the current formula "is very harsh on women workers with children," but so far organized labor has not convinced Congress to modify the calculations.

In striking contrast to the Social Security formula, the pension plan for federal employees calculates benefits by using a base average of the three highest earnings years. The Reagan proposals, Representative Jacobs says, "don't even whis-

especially severely because women are usually responsible for surviving children.

Finally, the proposal to omit three months of the Cost of Living Allowance increase in 1982 would affect women most, as they are most dependent on social security.

The cuts are being justified as needed to save the system from bankruptcy, "as though there were no other way of doing that," says Laurie Fiori, legislative representative of the 12.5 million member American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). The AARP favors funding from general revenues until an adequate study and recommendations can be made for restructuring the system, now going through its own mid-life crisis.

The AFL-CIO also favors partial general revenue financing. Its repre-



# Poland

Continued from page 9

Bellwether of democratic change has been the Gdansk party organization, whose first secretary, Tadeusz Fiszbach, supported Solidarity from the outset. Not far behind has been that in the Cracow region. Mieczyslaw Gil, president of the Cracow regional committee of Solidarity, and two of his colleagues were warm in their praise of the party's newspaper, *Gazeta Krakowska*—"the best newspaper in Poland"—which has staunchly supported their cause. In his poorly lit office in a dingy 19th century building with reverberating presses of similar vintage, editor-in-chief Maciej Szumowski said he has "tried to give objective reports even at the risk of coming into conflict with the party—not with the membership, but with the apparatus on top." Efforts by some conservatives to force *Gazeta Krakowska* to change its line unleashed a flood of letters from individuals and resolutions from party branches and Solidarity factory organizations supporting the paper.

When the letter of the Soviet party declared that "the enemy had seized control of the mass information media," one of the unmentioned targets of this charge was probably *Gazeta Krakowska*, even though Szumowski, a veteran Com-

munist, is a respected member of the party's Cracow regional committee. As for the party itself, months before the Central Committee acted, the Cracow regional committee began a series of direct elections by secret ballot that has brought in a new leadership from bottom to top. "Solidarity has forced the party to evolve," said 41-year-old Dr. Jan Jerschina, assistant professor of sociology at the University of Cracow, who has been a party member for 20 years. He estimated that 60 percent of the faculty at the university and of teachers at secondary schools were members or supporters of Solidarity. Most of these were younger people. Among the older professors, the percentage was much smaller. But among this academic elite, according to Dr. Jerschina, those with strong Catholic ties were most inclined to join Solidarity.

This points up the paradox of a Soviet bloc country with a population that is 90 percent Catholic, and with almost as high a proportion among the Communist membership. In its profound hold on the people, Polish Catholicism rivals that of Ireland. And as in Ireland, it is strongly nationalist. To extend the paradox: the Church's mediating and moderating role in the acute phase of the upheavals has been welcomed and praised by Communist leaders.

With one exception, those I spoke to discounted the danger of Soviet military intervention. Nor did they see any parallel with Czechoslovakia in 1968 where reform came from on top and was most actively embraced by the intellectuals. "Here intervention would be against the working class," Zawadzki said, "and that would be a different story. How can they force the workers to work if they refuse?" Nevertheless, he was pessimistic about the long-term ability of the democratic forces to triumph against Soviet opposition. "In the end the Red Army will come," he said.

One would expect that the Afghanistan morass argues against attempting a more formidable venture. The former high diplomatic official put it wryly: "Afghanistan is defending us." And the cost in international consequences of intervention would appear prohibitive.

Viewed from the Soviet side of the border, the Polish situation arouses understandable concern, even if the fears are excessive. In my opinion the Russians would invade only if they believed their security was gravely menaced. There are three circumstances, any of which might cause them to perceive an intolerable threat: withdrawal of Poland from the Warsaw Pact; a shift in Polish foreign policy toward a more independent course; disintegration of the Polish party to the point where it ceased to control the country's political and economic life. Of course, Soviet perceptions and the reality may be different. The letter of the Soviet Central Committee, while sounding the alarm about enemies of socialism "waging a struggle for power" and "gaining control of one position after another"—a convenient though completely invented bugaboo—really was pointing a finger at the democratic changes in the party.

Are there active anti-socialist elements in Poland? Undoubtedly, but their number and influence are minuscule.

## From the party to Solidarity

"Why did I leave the party?" Mieczyslaw Gil, president of the Cracow, Poland, regional committee of Solidarity, repeated the question. He was a most unusual looking labor leader: tall, bearded, longish brown hair falling over his brow, pale skin and soft eyes, he seemed to have stepped out of a Renaissance painting of Jesus.

"I resigned after the meeting of the Central Committee toward the end of last year," he replied. "I had hoped the committee would make other decisions, but I was disappointed. I felt the decisions didn't go far enough in the direction I wanted to go, so I handed in my party card."

Gil admitted that he had joined the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party in 1965 partly for an opportunist reason: he thought his party membership would help him realize his desire to go abroad for special training. He didn't go abroad, but remained in the party because "I agreed with its

policies and ideology."

When the Solidarity movement got under way in Cracow last August Gil had for five years been earning his living as a free-lance journalist. But having formerly worked at the Lenin steel mill in Cracow, Poland's second largest, he was well known by the workers there. He helped them start Solidarity and they elected him their local president. Later he was chosen to head the regional committee, which covers three of Poland's 49 provinces. The fact that he was a party member at the time was neither a handicap nor an asset. Eventually Gil became one of the 160,000 members nationally out of a total of 3 million who left the party from July 1980 until the end of April.

And eventually the 37-year-old Solidarity leader realized his ambition to go abroad—as a member of the three-man Solidarity delegation to the 25th congress of the International Metal Workers Federation, in Washington at the end of May.

There are also provocateurs, some of whom may be working for the CIA. As for anti-Sovietism, what else is new? It has its roots in the historic anti-Russian sentiment of the Polish people, but it has been fed by Soviet policy. I heard anti-Soviet expressions that struck me as extreme and unfair, but they came from people who favored socialism for Poland. What they and millions of others want is to be masters of their own future and to purge socialism of Stalinist oppression and corruption.

Democratic and socialist renewal in Poland is also threatened by a formidable internal foe: the state of the economy. While the country is going uphill politically and socially, it is going downhill economically thanks to overinvestment by the Gierk regime in grandiose projects, financed in large part with foreign loans, and an inefficient, overcentralized economic machine. The great strike movement exacerbated this situation by reducing production and increasing expenditures for wages and other benefits. By early April the government had sus-

pended 49 projects and a total of 900 are scheduled to be halted within the next two years. As a result, Poland for the first time in decades faces unemployment, plus a general decline in living standards.

Complementing political reform, a draft program for economic reform is being discussed and will be on the agenda of the party congress. One feature, once denounced as Yugoslav "revisionism," is workers' councils, with participation of workers in management and in profits. While retaining central strategic planning, the draft program provides for greater independence of enterprises.

It remains to be seen how the new program, and the political reforms, will be implemented. "We have achieved so far one step toward building something new," said the Cracow Solidarity leader, Jozef Okarmus, a non-Communist. "Now there's a chance that we'll have something that we'll want to call socialism."

A.B. Magil was executive editor of *The New Masses*, a Communist weekly, in the late '40s.

## Nukes

Continued from page 8

envy," she said. "The cause is psychological. It stems from an inadequate male sexual complex."

She says of the current leaders, "You have to make these men mature or you have to take over. Why should the world be run by little boys?"

With audiences she seeks to "shatter their psychic numbing," which she believes prevents them from actively opposing the nuclear arms race. She finds American audiences more difficult than those in Australia. "The majority of people [here] are sound asleep," Caldicott said. "In Australia, people had more initiative. Here people say, 'You've made

me feel bad, what should I do?' They're so comfortable. Australians always had it harder. Here things have always been so easy."

In Australia, Caldicott worked closely with labor unions and in her recent book, *Nuclear Madness*, she emphasizes the need to "educate the workers of this country," but her strategy with PSR is to begin with physicians. "I'm a pragmatic person," she said. "The most important thing is to get to the people who have an influence."

### Hope vs. gloom.

Caldicott's approach is not without its critics. Jerome Grossman, a Massachusetts businessman who heads the Council for a Livable World, has worried about the effect of the "gruesome medical fix." "I have some misgivings about these kinds of meetings because they feed the gloom," Grossman said. "There has to be some hope. You can't move people by presenting them with Armageddon."

But Caldicott inspires loyalty and admiration among PSR members. Dr. Richard Gardiner, chair of the Chicago chapter, had been active in the anti-war Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) during the '60s, but had largely dropped out of politics since then. "She spreads controversy because she gets down into people's deep emotions," Gardiner said. "When I first heard her speak after Three Mile Island, she said things that I knew all along medically. But for me it brought together certain humanist and political concerns with my medical concerns. I knew she had affected my life permanently."

Gardiner says that among doctors Caldicott's medical emphasis works magic. "People look at politics as something dirty they don't want to be affiliated with. But they want something related to medical care that isn't just self-serving. When they hear her, they know that PSR isn't."

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## INPRINT

## BIOGRAPHY

## "Unclubbable Orwell"

George Orwell

By Bernard Crick

Atlantic-Little, Brown, 473 pp., \$17.95

By Tamar Jacoby

George Orwell has been called a saint and a sadist, a staunch socialist and a turncoat counter-revolutionary, a second-rate novelist and one of the most influential political thinkers of the century.

Both liberals and conservatives claim him as their own. If he did not promote their views during his life, he was, each group insists, moving toward their position when he died.

All of this weighs heavily on Crick, professor of politics at London University and editor of the socialist *Political Quarterly*. As Orwell's authorized biographer, Crick has had access to private papers. He has been diligent and inventive in his research, reading the marginal notes in Orwell's schoolbooks and flushing out old foreign service officers who remember him from Burma. Yet Crick is so preoccupied with the myths, as if distracted by unseen hecklers, that he tends to lose sight of Orwell himself. Somehow Orwell emerges anyway from the ragged patchwork of fact and anecdote and quotation that Crick has assembled.

The most formidable of the legends are the ones created by Orwell himself. The unhappy childhood, the beatings he received at boarding school, the bedwetting supposed to have brought them on; the elephant he said he shot in Burma; the middle class guilt that led him to live among tramps in Paris and London: Crick questions all of this. For him, it is so much posturing, the mask Orwell created looking back from his writing desk. Crick looks hard at the works in which Orwell draws on his own experience—*Burmese Days* and *A Clergyman's Daughter*, as well as essays like "Shooting an Elephant" and "Such, Such Were the Joys" that are based on fact.

Justifiably skeptical of Orwell's apparently forthright prose, Crick uncovers instance after instance of polemical exaggeration, what Orwell himself calls the "habit of telling small lies in order to emphasize what he regards as a big truth." Crick is not a literary man and makes allowances for fictional license. He only raises the question in an effort to sort out the truth about Orwell's life. Yet even in this Crick is indecisive: he proves that Orwell's own writings are not reliable, but then uses them nevertheless as biographical evidence. All of this makes for a chatty, speculative account, particularly in the chapters on Orwell's childhood.

## Search for a subject.

The facts and the character slowly come clear. Orwell was a sickly child, already calling things "beastly" before he was two years old. At St. Cyprian's, where he was sent on scholar-

ship at the age of eight, he was known as a hard-working and bookish boy. By the time he got to Eton, he was more sardonic, less inclined to do as his teachers ordered, generally aloof in manner but affable when he wanted to be.

After Eton, he went straight to Burma. There too he was something of a solitary figure, thought to be gloomy and "unclubbable" by fellow Imperial Police. He soon found that he disliked the Service and the duties assigned to him, although not necessarily, as Crick points out, because he rejected imperialism. Crick traces his subject's growing sense of the harshness and injustice of British colonial rule, the first sign of his concern for politics.

Back in Europe, Orwell determined to become a writer. The poet and family friend Ruth Pitter thought his first efforts "unusually inept." But Orwell was

yet Crick somehow fails to pull together the rest of his case. The first time Orwell dresses as a tramp and makes his way into the East End of London is for Crick the cheery beginning of "his education as a social moralist." The rebellious gesture, the *enfant terrible's* gloomy perversity, even the sense of adventure: all of this escapes Crick.

It is in writing about the early naturalistic novels that Crick first comes under the shadow of what other people have said about Orwell. He quotes widely from contemporary reviews, the pedestrian as well as the more discerning, and then offers his own assessments of *Burmese Days*, *A Clergyman's Daughter* and *Keep the Aspidochelone*. But since he does not support his judgments with discussion of the action or characters or language in the novels, these critical passages are rarely convincing. Here and elsewhere,

the industrial towns of northern England. These were not beggars or tramps but working men, and this time Orwell did not disguise himself. He went north to Wigan as a professional journalist. It was the trip to Wigan that touched off what his friend and editor Richard Rees called "an extraordinary change both in his writing and...in his attitude." In the north Orwell tried to live as a working man, staying with local families and going down in a mine, making his way to a variety of grassroots political meetings. Crick has interviewed several Wigan laborers who remember Orwell, some of them still resentful of what they felt were his preconceived notions about the working class. Others found him likeable and deeply troubled by political questions he seemed to be considering for the first time. "He was a fella of a cynical

between communist, anarchist and Trotskyist. Crick can be fresh and informative about Orwell's politics, quoting his long-forgotten reviews of contemporary Marxist writers. He writes with precision about the ideological differences between Orwell and his editors that in several instances delayed the publication of his work. He also debunks a number of politically biased misinterpretations of *Animal Farm* and 1984. This is Crick at his most convincing: scrupulous in his research, sure of the ideological terrain, an excellent guide to what Orwell called "the essentially public, non-individual activities that this age forces on all of us."

Crick has more trouble understanding Orwell's skepticism about political activity—the "cynical character" noticed by the man from Wigan. "In politics one can never do more than

"In politics one can never do more than decide which of two evils is the lesser one," Orwell wrote in later life.

decide which of two evils is the lesser," Orwell wrote near the end of his life. "You also have to keep part of yourself inviolate." Crick quotes this passage with some uneasiness, not certain what to make of it or another like it, written at the height of Orwell's active political career, in which he expressed a "horror of politics" and "party labels."

Crick argues persuasively throughout the book that Orwell was above all a "political writer"—someone whose first concern and great distinction was "to make political writing into an art." He allows that for Orwell this meant a kind of vigilant independence. But Crick is also determined to place Orwell in a spectrum of political views: not as far to the left of the Labour Party as it seems, nor so far to the right of orthodox Marxists. At times like this, one wonders if Crick has not misjudged the species he is trying to hunt.

Orwell's plain style is also seen as a political matter—a sign of Orwell's deeply democratic vision. According to Crick, the simple, straightforward language rests on an "assumption that all knowledge can be reduced to common sense." For his part, Professor Crick is skeptical of this assumption. But then, he can admit only grudgingly that Orwell's distinction as a "political writer" is that he wrote about politics from the outside, determined to use a humble, personal style because that helped him to understand what public issues mean for the private life of an ordinary man.

From the beginning, Crick is determined to avoid an overly personal or psychological biography. He says he is more interested in the work than in the man. And yet, in the end it is the private Orwell that comes across most sharply here—his unflinching devotion to his work; the diffident and often awkward integrity he showed with other people; that firm determination to write precisely about even his most extravagant and visionary beliefs.

Tamar Jacoby is on the staff of the *New York Review of Books*.



Drawing by David Levine reprinted with permission of New York Review of Books NY Review, Inc. 1981

not to be deterred by criticism or the time-consuming jobs he took to support himself while he was writing the early novels.

Tracing Orwell's search for a subject, Crick cites Orwell's later comment about the "guilt" that prompted him to go down and out. Crick questions this explanation and quotes revealingly from a passage by Jack London that Orwell almost certainly knew describing a similar night of "tramping" among the English working class. It is an important piece of evidence, and

the biographer strains to see the better side of Orwell, to assert his accomplishments even in the face of Crick's own understanding of Orwell's shortcomings.

## To Wigan.

For Crick, Orwell's life turns on his deepening sense of politics. Crick shows that the move toward political writing was, in part at least, determined by outside circumstances. In 1936 Orwell's publisher, Victor Gollancz, commissioned a book about unemployed workers in

character," one man remembers, "seemed to be looking and delving for a philosophy."

Crick emphasizes this search for an ideological stance as he follows Orwell to Wigan and then to Spain to fight against the fascists. Orwell left the north country with a vague but hopeful socialist belief "that economic injustice will stop the moment we want it to stop, and no sooner, and if we genuinely want it to stop the method adopted hardly matters." In Spain he learned the difference



## AMERICAN HISTORY

## Colonial life leaves the antique shops

**"Myne Owne Ground:" Race & Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676**

By T.H. Breen and Stephen Innes

Oxford University Press, 142 pp., \$12.95 hardback

**Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America**

By T.H. Breen

Oxford University Press, 270 pp., \$17.50 hardback

By Edward Countryman

The popular image of colonial America remains imprisoned within a framework established by such historical reconstructions as colonial Williamsburg. But the polished historical ghetto of the colonial restorations is far removed from the world in which the first non-native Americans lived. These two volumes by T.H. Breen, one in collaboration with Stephen Innes, explore that world.

In their joint book, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* they reconstruct the community a small group of free blacks made for themselves on Virginia's eastern shore in the middle of the 17th century. Breen's collection of essays, *Puritans and Adventurers*, subtly examines the vast differences between the first two British mainland colonies, Virginia and Massachusetts, and between each and the metropolitan culture from which it sprang. Much of what these books say is no surprise to specialists, not least since *Puritans and Adventurers* collects Breen's previously published essays. But the work that Breen, Innes and others like them are doing deserves notice outside the limited community of early American scholars.

#### Privileged space.

The free blacks of the eastern shore have been vaguely "present" to professional early Americanists for some time. The knowledge that their community existed, its members even holding "dependent laborers" of their own, has barred any facile equation between the presence of blacks in 17th-century Virginia and the presence of a full-blown slave system. Now Breen and Innes have entered that community. They show its members struggling for their own freedom, jostling for the control of others, white as well as black, and scrambling for land. The



*New England culture was rooted in peasant custom, while plantation Virginia fostered practices like horse racing.*

authors show free blacks establishing relationships of dependency with white patrons, challenging other whites in the courts, and using marriage and kinship to form their own community. They were not equal to their white neighbors, but neither were they abjectly inferior.

These blacks were generally West Indian, not directly imported from Africa. They came to Virginia knowing English, as indentured servants rather than slaves. Surviving their indentures and prospering after gaining freedom were by no means certainties for servants of any color, but some did so.

There were not many free blacks on the eastern shore, and for a number of reasons they occupied a "privileged space." Their knowledge of English culture and their distance from the emergent great plantations across Chesapeake Bay both served them well. Some of them, like Anthony Johnson, the patriarch of Pungoteague Creek, lived out early American success stories; others barely survived. Yet their existence as a group implies the possibility that something other than the race-based slavery might have developed in Virginia.

What became of these people?

Breen and Innes simply show that they once were but that by the turn of the 18th century they were no more. However, at least implicitly, Breen addresses the problem of their disappearance in a number of the essays in *Puritans and Adventurers*.

#### Class and cultures.

The theme of that book is the relationship between metropolitan British and colonial American culture, and Breen understands that to speak simply of a transfer of English ways will not do. He also appreciates the stark contrasts between the stable neopeasant society of early New England and the individualistic chancel house that was early Virginia. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the free eastern shore blacks was to survive in a society that was, quite simply, a killer. Both Virginia and Massachusetts saw discontent and upheaval, but in Virginia these sprang from rebellion against intolerable conditions and in Massachusetts from efforts by villagers to protect a way of life that they cherished.

*Puritans and Adventurers* revolves around two core problems. The first is the interaction between two material environments and several slices of Eng-

lish culture. New England developed as it did not just because of Puritanism but also because of East Anglian peasant custom, the desire for stability of villagers beset by hostile outside forces and its soil's inability to grow high-profit cash crops. Virginia became a scene of death and desolation because the chance to grow tobacco at high profit rates combined there with the rapaciousness of early English capitalism and the ready availability of cheap labor.

Breen's second problem is class formation. The contrast between the stable plantation society of 18th-century Virginia and the horrors that preceded it is enormous. The difference stems from the formation of two classes that would stand in opposition to each other until the Civil War—the great planters and the slaves. Their formation was accompanied by an easing of the burden of exploitation on lesser whites and by the emergence of such diverse cultural practices as horse racing for high stakes and overt racism.

Both practices, and others, worked as instruments of planter hegemony. Horse racing was an elite sport, and the way it was conducted provided one demarcation between great whites and

poorer ones. But open racism enabled those poorer whites to identify their interests with those of the planters rather than with those of the blacks. By this time blacks were coming in large numbers, as slaves, directly from Africa. The result was to end the privileged space in which some blacks had entered free society and in which other blacks had entered with whites in rebellions and escape attempts. Virginia gained social peace, but it did so at a price that is still being paid.

Breen speaks to other problems as well. One is the contrast between the historical self-awareness of the New Englanders and the virtual absence of historical consciousness among the Virginians. Even their intellectuals, men like William Byrd II and Thomas Jefferson, simply did not think of the past. The Puritans, in contrast, were aware of their origins in the conflicts of early Stuart England and of the collective quality of the way their ancestors had founded a new society.

The 17th century was, for Virginians, a time best forgotten, and they looked to the future in which individuals might prosper, not to a past from which their collective life had grown. Their individualism and focus on the future were not "characteristically American." They sprang from the Virginians' own particular circumstances of material wealth, profit-seeking, and slavery. Lacking a social past, their writers looked to the wealth of the land, and to its possible exploitation, for their themes.

These social histories exemplify a trend demonstrating in the colonial period a pattern of diversity in development. If, as Paul Berman remarked recently, social history is one of the great intellectual enterprises of our time, the study of early America is one of the fields in which that enterprise is moving rapidly forward.

Edward Countryman teaches at University of Warwick. His *A People in Revolution* is forthcoming this fall from Johns Hopkins University Press.

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### CULTURE SHOCK



#### AS OTHERS SEE US

An American Film Festival is touring China, of films chosen by the Chinese government as representative of American life. They include *Shane*, *Snow White* and *the Seven Dwarfs* and *Singing*

*in the Rain*. Among the rejects: *On the Waterfront*, *Patton* and *Breaking Away*.

#### WHAT'S IN A LOGO

National Public Radio is updating its logo, to replace the old-fashioned microphone in it with a modern



one. NPR staffers have been the butt of jokes from PBS staffers for years about their logo. But as an NPR official was quoted by *access* magazine saying, "At least we don't have a man with a hole in his head followed by B.S."



## ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

## MOVIES

# "Free speech" when looking is consuming

By Kate Ellis

As a political tactic, boycotts against films go back to *Birth of a Nation*. It has no particular affinity with the left or the right—the Communist Party and the Catholic Church have both used it. Recently feminists have taken it up to highlight the issue of violence against women, not only in pornography and "snuff" films, but also in productions such as *Dressed to Kill*. Last year gays organized to protest the shooting and showing of *Cruising*. And this spring minority organizations from the South Bronx were sufficiently vocal about *Fort Apache* that the New York City Council's Committee on General Welfare passed a motion urging New Yorkers to pass it by.

Since I tend to react to the forbidden like Eve to the apple, I saw (and had very mixed responses to) all three of these films. What concerns me, in talking about them together, is not so much weighing the films themselves, but rather the way the idea of boycotting pushes us to talk about culture.

To begin with, each of these films is about a culturally sensitive issue. *Cruising* is not about your statistically average gay man but about leather bars. *Dressed to Kill* opens with Angie Dickinson fantasizing rape in the shower, followed by mechanical sex with her husband. And *Fort Apache* is about police racism in the South Bronx, where the cops in the 41st precinct view the residents with whom they have to deal as "savages."

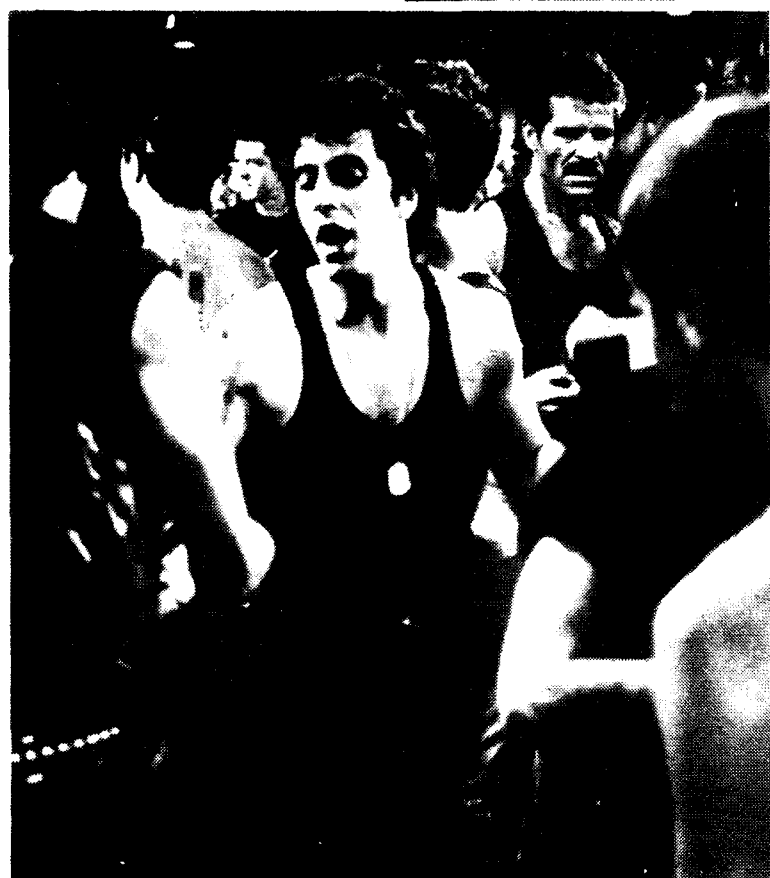
The question is: what in the films directs the viewer to approve or disapprove of what is being shown? Two cops are killed point blank by Pam Greer, a heroin-crazed hooker who also slits the throats of her customers. The precinct captain (Ed Asner) reacts by arresting, on no particular charge as far as one can see, the leaders of a militant neighborhood organization. There is a demonstration, shot from the cops' point of view. Asner orders tear gas thrown into the crowd and yells at one of his officers, "Why didn't you tell me these people had so much support in the community?"

## Taking sides.

Are we supposed to side with the "cowboys" against the "Indians" here? I think not. And even if the law-and-order folks come out a bit ahead on our sympathy scorecard, their team surely loses when, in another sequence in which a crowd around a fire gets out of hand, a cop drops an innocent Puerto Rican teenager from the roof. This is a

movie without good guys, a movie about the futility of liberal faith in good guys.

I do not think the audience for *Cruising* is supposed to condemn all gays, or even all wearers of leather gear, even though the movie is about the search for a killer who haunts that scene.



There is a sequence in the film in which Al Pacino is making love to his girlfriend and, as her head disappears below the frame (she is on top of him) the pulsating music of the leather bars comes up loudly behind a shot of Pacino's enraptured face. Even though the scene is meant to affirm Pacino's basic heterosexuality, the implication is that sexuality is outside such boundaries. This message is underlined, albeit subtly, in the final shots of the film, in which the girlfriend is admiring herself in the mirror wearing Pacino's leather hat, a part of the costume he wore when he "passed."

*Dressed to Kill* went quickly downhill, in my view, after Angie Dickinson was murdered, but a review in the feminist jour-

nal *off our backs* embodies the same tendency to assume a sexist message that disturbs me when protestors insist that *Cruising* is pushing homophobia or *Fort Apache* racism. The intended message of *Dressed to Kill*, according to this reviewer, Dorchen Leinholdt, is that "a woman can choose between two sexual options—submission to her wifely duty in the marriage bed and romantic masochism."

One can argue about whether some women (or all women) have other options. Perhaps the director, Brian De Palma, should have made a movie about a woman who did have other options. Perhaps she should have met a nice Kris Kristofferson type, or been given a large painting with which to walk home



Newman's girlfriend (Rachel Ticotin) uses heroin in *FORT APACHE*; Pacino flirts with gay life in *CRUISING*.

## How do we decide if the director is warning women against picking up strange men or urging them to do it?

alone. Perhaps some day she will walk off with another woman. But in this movie, as in *Looking for Mister Goodbar*, she meets a murderer.

When *Goodbar* came out, feminists everywhere denounced it as a propaganda piece telling all women what would happen to them if they stepped out of line. Leinholdt takes De Palma to task for pushing his women viewers toward the other side of the male double standard. "Like all pornographers," she says, "De Palma has a vested interest in contrasting the good, new, post-sexual revolution sex with the bad, old-fashioned sex, and enthusiastically recommending the former to women."

## Looking is consuming.

But is portraying the same as recommending? How do we decide if a director is cautioning (a part of) the audience against picking up strange men, or urging them to do it? These are the questions that come up when you view the media solely as vehicles for political positions, when they become to ideologies what advertisements are to consumer products.

The issue of audience does bring out a real problem, however. Commercial filmmaking turns its subject into a product:

looking is consuming. But the act of looking is politicized whenever that assumed looker is a member of a group (class, race or sex) that has power in the world over the group to which the observed "object" belongs. Therefore if the observed does anything on the screen that might be interpreted as a justification for perpetuating that power difference, protest on the part of the less powerful group is surely in order.

One solution for altering the power balance between lookers and looked on was proposed recently by the Reverend Herbert Daughtry of the National Black United Front, one of the participants in the *Fort Apache* boycott. His proposal would require, in this case, the mayor of New York to consult with a given community before any company is permitted to film there. This same demand was raised by gays at the shooting of *Cruising*. It is a demand not so much for censorship as for compensatory positive images, and it will have validity as long as minority groups are portrayed in stereotyped, derogatory ways.

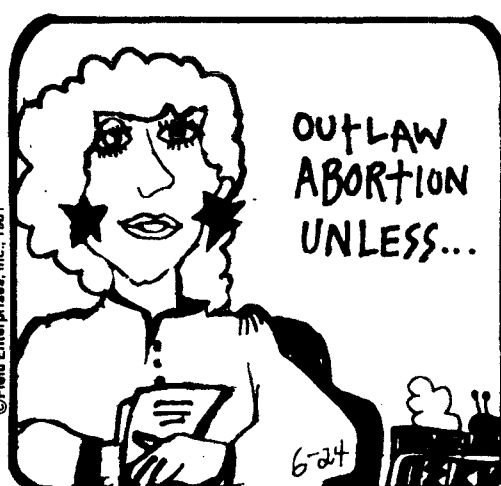
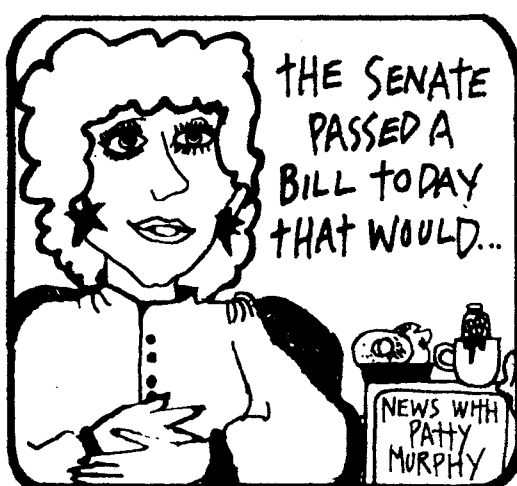
## Corporate free speech.

Daughtry's proposal highlights a problem that the First Amend-

Continued on page 24

## SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander





## MUSIC



The Clash (left to right, Jones, Strummer, Simonon and Headon) played numbers from *SANDINISTA!*

## The Clash say it with the beat

By Carlo Wolff

NEW YORK

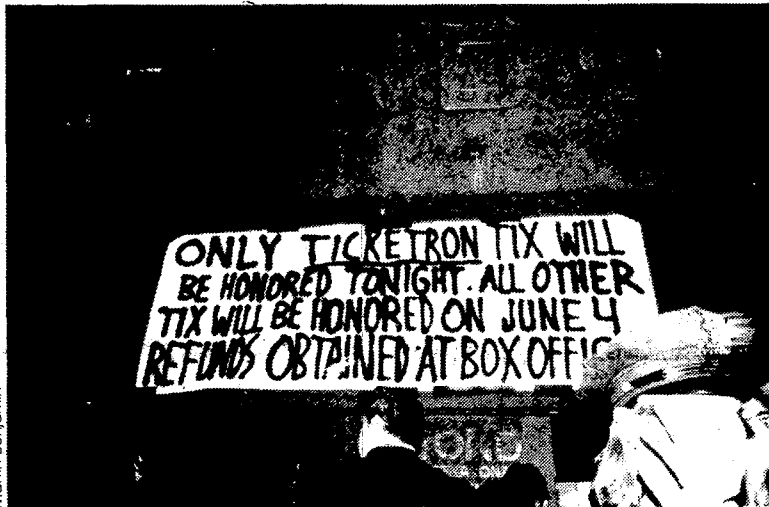
It was comfortable inside Bond's and the giant sound system was blaring old and new rockabilly, blending Wanda Jackson with the Cramps. Seventeen hundred people awaited the Clash on the second night of their New York City appearance in support of *Sandinista!*, the three-album set the left-wing British band released over four months ago.

I'd finally made it into Bond's after cooling my heels for three hours because of a monumental ticket-related snafu that started on May 28, the first evening of the Clash's New York series. That night Bond's packed 3500 people into their huge old hall, former sit of a low-rent men's clothing store at 45th Street and Broadway, the heart of Times Square. When police checked out the scene, they were appalled and the city fire marshall's office

*Like the Stones in the '60s, the Clash have adulation but not the album sales to match.*

decided to pull the plug, forcing Bond's to choose between massive refunds and rescheduling dates to accommodate Clash lovers who'd come from as far away as San Francisco and Georgia. Bond's opted for the latter, and the group performed through June 13, when they made up for May 30 shows they had to cancel.

Two weeks before the Clash began their stint, the Plasmatics played to a steamy house of 4,000, blew up two Cadillacs



Overcrowding at the Clash concert forced concert rescheduling.

and exhibited the mixture of pornography and rock and roll they're famous for, though they're successful at neither. According to a Clash spokesman, city officials did nothing about the Plasmatics overselling.

I was one of the fortunate few who managed to get in the night of May 29. When Joe Strummer, Mick Jones, Paul Simonon and

Topper Headon finally took over the stage to tear into "London Calling," the mood coalesced, launching a proud, wonderful—and maddening—concert featuring material from all five Clash records in a set of just under two hours.

The Clash have a limited melodic sense (most of their songs are based on major-third inter-

vals), and Strummer is not a melodic singer. But Strummer can *wail*, pitting his hoarse, anxious vocals against Jones' pointed guitar and the pulsating, poppy bass lines of the mobile Simonon.

The concert was studded with material from *Sandinista!*, and tunes such as "Washington Bullets" and "The Call-Up" were underlined by film stills of today's headlines, helmeted bobbies, wasted Vietnamese villages and ruined tenements, projected onto the metal scrim behind the bandstand.

The Clash moved easily from the disco-inflected "The Magnificent Seven" to the hard punk of their early "Career Opportunities" and the amazing rock reggae of "Armageddon Time" (which Strummer introduced with lines from the tacky folksong, "Gotta Travel On").

### On the verge.

*Sandinista!* has sold just under 180,000 copies, according to Epic. *London Calling*, the magnificent two-album set the Clash released at the beginning of 1980, has sold only 350,000 copies, despite a Top 10 single ("Train in Vain," sung May 29 by Jones in a stirring marriage of defiance and vulnerability) and across-the-board critical acclaim. (AC/DC, by contrast, has sold over three million copies of *Back in Black*, a pointedly apolitical heavy-metal album.)

Despite these problems, the Clash seem on the verge of massive popularity. They doubled their shows, they've gotten an enormous amount of press and their singles are beginning to sell. Their position is akin to that of the Rolling Stones in the mid-'60s, when that rude band enjoyed acclaim, adulation and singles sales without commensurate album-sales success. And, like the Stones, the Clash deliver their message through their rhythm. Understanding of the lyrics comes later.

The Clash could have left its audience in the lurch, deciding not to add shows after the ticket-sales disaster. But the band played to all who paid to see them, in precisely the right place: Times Square is the melting pot, and the Clash are courageous and willing enough to create melting-pot music.

Carlo Wolff is a reporter for the *Schenectady Gazette*.

## Movies

Continued from page 23

ment does not entirely answer. How can you talk about "free speech" when one of the "speakers" is a conglomerate? But if counterposing a community to a conglomerate would ameliorate the power imbalance, it would take away from individual community members the right to disagree with one another. Unfortunately this argument sounds a lot like the conservative argument against unions: individuals should be "free" to negotiate (with their local conglomerate) their own working conditions. And once you deny this freedom, the argument continues, you're only a short jump away from a totalitarianism that robs people of their right to read, think, and see what they want at the movies.

Of course our choices are limited too. But if socialists equate every aspect of life with the workplace, we run the danger of slipping toward the same

sorts of analogical pitfalls that lead the right to equate unions with "mind control" and abortion with concentration camps. In particular, I think we must avoid talking about culture with the kind of rigidity that characterized the leaflets advocating a boycott of *Fort Apache*.

These leaflets describe *Fort Apache* as a film that exploits blacks and Puerto Ricans by portraying them as "savages, criminals and degenerates." So the fact that Paul Newman has a Puerto Rican girlfriend (Rachel Ticotin) who goes on an occasional "vacation" via heroin is nothing but racist stereotyping, and no other arguments need be advanced for refusing to see the movie.

But we live in a world where middle class people go on such "vacations" and get written up in *People* magazine. Is it just because she is Puerto Rican that she can't get an occasional high without being labelled an addict? If even Andrew Sarris, hardly a rigid left ideologue, can say that "the practical effect" of Ticotin's image in the film "is to write off every Hispanic in the South Bronx as a

junkie" we can see how far this kind of thinking has spread as critics, including the one from this paper, are eager to disavow their "racism."

What happened to me as I watched the relationship between Newman and Ticotin was to feel empathy with her, a nurse who wants to have some control over her life. When she dies of an overdose, and Newman walks up and down the hospital corridor carrying her dead body, I had come to care enough about her to cry. Empathy is surely one of the most powerful agents of political consciousness: one would want to change the oppressive conditions of the South Bronx because one has felt what it would be like to live there.

I have no problem with a political demand on the part of women, blacks, Puerto Ricans, and gays for varied and complicated three-dimensional representations in popular culture. But we don't advance this effort by beginning from the extreme position that Madison Avenue has taken over popular culture lock, stock and barrel, eliminating complexity of character,

motivation, and subtlety in its need for one-dimensional didacticism.

We need, rather, to explore those places in the culture that are contradictory rather than monolithic. One of the qualities of bourgeois culture for which its critics have faulted it has been its tendency to disregard historical and cultural specificity, to make statements about "human nature" and "mankind" (or even "every Hispanic in the South Bronx").

It disturbs me to see left critics fall into those same universalizing traps, and to demand that the "out" groups of this society be rendered neat and clean any time they are offered up for popular consumption. From this point of view, until racism, sexism, and homophobia are eliminated, the only people who can be portrayed in a complex manner will be white men.

De-stereotyping does not simply take a stereotype and turn it upside-down. Therefore the fact that *Fort Apache*, *Dressed to Kill* and *Cruising* contain both negative and positive images of Puerto Ricans, women and gays is not in itself

grounds for refusing to listen to, and look at, what they are saying about the racism, sexism, and homophobia in the contradictory, un-monolithic world in which we live.

## Arts

Continued from page 2

still to come—to justify federal funding, not just for the big, safe organizations, the ones that make stuff that PBS can use for its planned cultural cable service, but to ensure and foster diversity and pluralism.

The great majority of people in this country—especially minorities—may want to see opera on public TV, as response to such programs demonstrate. But many different groups ought also to be able to make their own art, to know their own history, to explore their own culture. This is the unique service that the Endowments can provide, but it is also the most controversial and least well-represented among private and corporate donors.



## THEATER

# Hitting the road with tragicomedies of work

By Debbie Zucker

Two recent tours by socially-committed theater companies keep the genre alive and well. *Railroad Bill* and *Paper Weight* are both modest and successful examples of theater that provokes thought as well as laughs.

"If the coloreds and those dumb white crackers ever tie it up, there's no way in hell for us to keep control," says one railroad baron to another. What he knew—and what the populist of the 1890s knew—is no less true today. And the prospect of an interracial movement to resist modern-day railroading (multinational barons, budget cutters gone berserk) is one of the inspirations for the New York-based Labor Theatre's most recent production, *Railroad Bill*.

The Labor Theatre, a touring theater for five of its eight years (*In These Times*, Jan. 21), aims to reach working-class audiences with drama about working people's lives and history. In this vaudeville-style political folk-tale, the troupe tells the true story of "the black Jesse James," narrated, sung and acted by a skillful interracial cast of six. Self-effacing Morris Slater, a former Alabama turpentine worker, begins to hold up robber barons' trains and gives the spoils to poor southern sharecroppers and farmers (whose land they'd stolen). The rural poor, black and white, who were increasingly drawn to the populist movement, revered Railroad Bill as a selfless Robin Hood figure. The early blues song "Railroad Bill" is based on Slater's criminal career. ("Railroad Bill, Railroad Bill/he ain't worked and he never will?").

Bill is joined by Henry Caldwell, a white man who worked for the Pinkerton's himself until he concluded that the government is run "by and for Wall Street" and that only the Populist party could challenge all the unregulated monopolies, railroads included. By their fugitive's campfire, Caldwell lectures the legendary train robber about the law of supply and demand. "Sounds like another bad law to me," replies Bill.

According to Portz, author and co-lead of the play, different audiences have strikingly different reactions. Black and white audiences, for instance, laugh in different places. Portz said some of the most enthusiastic and appreciative audiences were Local 600 of the Autoworkers from the River Rouge plant in Detroit ("You could hear the noise of the plant from the theater"), a primarily black and female audience of AFSCME workers at Wayne State University and a mostly white audience at the University of Wisconsin.

The size and spirit of the audience has most to do with the local groups that sponsor the show, according to Bette Craig, the Labor Theatre's co-founder with Chuck Portz. She also said that the theater has not been reaching enough people and that it may need to assist local sponsors with publicity. However, the troupe has been the impetus for several other labor



Julie Wittman and Marcia Desy play office politics in *PAPER WEIGHT*.

theater groups getting started, notably the "Bay Area Labor Theater" in San Francisco.

Although the production leaned towards the predictable, *Railroad Bill* is a good story, and a welcome non-didactic piece of theater.

## Women workers.

*Nine to Five* is fine for laughs, but *Paper Weight*—like office

work—can make you cry. This "tragicomedy," the group's term for it, is a funny and instructive play whose characters are types without being stereotypes. Written in 1979 by the women of RIFT (Rhode Island Feminist Theater), it's been on tour for the last year and a half.

The play begins and ends in the office. The all-grey set is bleak, especially against the

background muzak. The six women onstage joke, complain and share talk while performing pantomimed office tasks. The easy mood is straight out of a quilting bee. The difference is that these women are doing labor of no great material benefit or personal satisfaction to them.

A conflict develops in "Quality Life" insurance company, between a new woman department manager and a loyal office clerk who requests some time off early each day to attend her son's speech therapy sessions. The new manager insists on "going through the proper channels," (an all-male policy committee with no clerical representatives), saying that to do otherwise would hurt the credibility of other women trying to rise in the corporate ranks. Although some audience members in a Chicago performance hissed at this manager, the RIFT script shows her a victim, an earnest Dress for Success graduate.

The manager finally does speak to the policy committee on the clerk's behalf. When the expected refusal comes down, the five women realize that their co-worker will probably have to quit to be with her son. Their mounting sense of unfairness and betrayal culminates in a charged petition-writing scene. The three women—one in her spikey high-heels and tight skirt, one in her burnt-out rock star outfit, and the plain, pragmatic athlete (and lesbian)—put together their written request for clerical representation on the committee. It is their first collective political act and they are euphoric.

In a quieter scene, midway through the play, each woman takes some time alone on stage to reveal her dreams to the audience. One dreams of being a champion speed-skater, another

a rock star, another a jet-setting anthropologist. The dreamers' wistfulness is far more powerful than the violent revenge fantasies in *Nine to Five*.

Now eight years old, RIFT is a collective of eight members who are now paid full-time. Though none of the original collective members are still with the group, RIFT's style and purpose have not changed. Jobs such as light-technician, make-up artist and road manager are all rotated, all but one of their productions have been original plays, and RIFT's director and writer work with the group to form scripts from their improvisations. And though all of RIFT's plays concern women, they aren't meant only for women to see.

The director of *Paper Weight*, Janet Buchwald, said, "We know when there are clerical workers in the audience because there's a lot of loud laughing." But managers and aspiring managers are also moved to respond, according to Barbara Conley, the actress who plays the part of the woman manager. "Women have come up to me and said 'I'm in your position'."

Added Buchwald, "When we performed for a group of managers attending a week-long management training program, we really got under their skins. When we asked them in the discussion afterwards how many of them would have signed the workers' petition demanding worker representation on the company policy committee, 75 percent of them raised their hands."

For more information on the Rhode Island Feminist Theater, call (401) 273-8654. The Labor Theatre plans a fall tour of the mid-Atlantic states; call (212) 242-4220.

## CONFERENCE

# American writers put up an umbrella

By Josh Martin

"Writers in America face a crisis." With these words, the Nation Institute, a non-profit association affiliated with *The Nation* magazine, has called for an American Writers Congress, to be held at the Roosevelt Hotel in New York City, Oct. 9-12. The goals of the congress are twofold—to assess the state of American writing as an industry and profession, and to organize a national union to represent writers' interest with publishers and other bodies. Such unions already exist in Sweden, Japan, England and many other countries.

Organizers expect attendance at the Congress to exceed 3,000. Sponsors come from all fields, including novelists (Kurt Vonnegut, Erica Jong), economists (Robert Lekachman), social commentators (Jessica Mitford, Norman Mailer), and journalists (Jack Newfield, Doug Ireland).

The Writers Congress represents one of the most ambitious organizing efforts in recent times, in a segment of the labor force notorious for its insularity and resistance to union organizing. Earlier writers' congresses, starting in the '30s, have been concerned with broader political issues of the day. More recently, the MORE conventions of the '70s dealt with dissatisfaction in the mainstream media.

"Concentration in the com-

munication industry threatens to exclude and silence serious writers who are out of political or literary fashion," says The Nation Institute, adding that such censorship occurs at a time when publishers in all fields are cutting back on budgets for writers (seeking increased profits with a few blockbusters). The Writers Congress will probably serve as an umbrella group linking such groups as the various Media Alliances that now exist in several cities around the country.

One of the big hurdles to forming a writers union is the fact that freelancers cannot be legally organized under the law; targeted strike actions by a union of freelancers might constitute unfair restraint of trade. However members of the Writers Congress argue that in the past, such legal barriers have been overcome after a strike in fact occurs. A court fines the union a nominal sum, but management and labor tacitly agree to each other's right to exist.

Some publications have already recognized the rights of organized writers and freelancers, notably the *Village Voice* and the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*. Certain labor organizations—District Council 1199 (hospital workers) and District Council 65 (office workers)—have been courting freelance writers to form affiliations.

Writers Congress panels will range from First Amendment issues to cooperative publishing

techniques, creating health insurance plans, dealing with new technology and the role of government funding.

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Daniel Ellsberg



For further information on this conference, write *The Writers Conference*, P.O. Box 1215, New York, NY 10116.

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# Cabinet

Continued from page 11

deny the holocaust. Badinter has represented Jewish organizations claiming Faurisson's contentions are damaging to them.

The four new Communist cabinet members are rather less exciting personalities. Only one of them is nationally known: Charles Fitterman, 48, Marchais' most visible sidekick in recent years, named Minister of Transport, with the honorific title of Minister of State. Fitterman is the son of Jewish working-class immigrants from Poland. The right is already voicing concern over the strategic implications of putting a Communist in charge of Air France, the nationalized railroads, and the nation's seaports. At least, it is obvious that the CIA wouldn't be able to disrupt the French economy by inciting some independent truck drivers to go on strike, as in Socialist Chile.

The PCF's leading economist, Anicet Le Pors, was put in charge of civil service and administrative reform. Like transport, this ministry should give the PCF an opportunity to give jobs to some of its people. Jack Ralite, a jovial journalist and one of the PCF's leading cultural innovators, founder of a popular theater, was named Minister of Health. The fit between job and man is not obvious. Finally, Marcel Rigout, a popular figure in his native rural district around Limoges, is the Minister of Vocational Training.

To obtain these ministries, the PCF had to agree first to a joint policy statement dictated by the PS. The Socialists obliged the Communists to support Mitterrand not only in the National Assembly, in the Government and in the municipalities, but also in "enterprises"—a

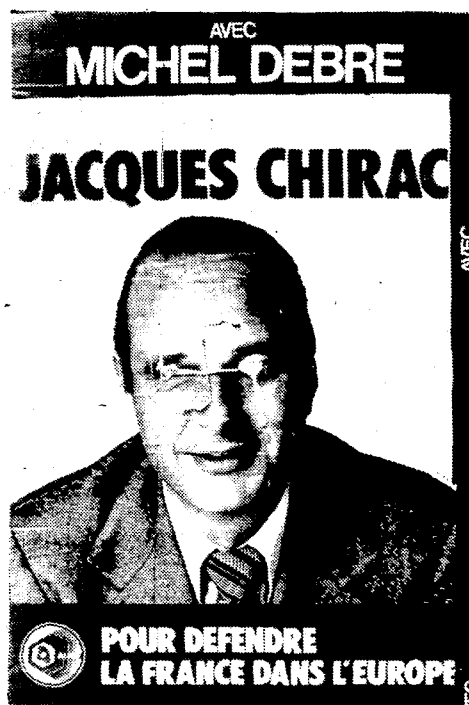
stipulation sure to cause consternation among rank and file labor militants, who are thus impeded from pressing demands or complaints against government policy. Specifically, the PCF agreed to respect the "pace" of change decided by Mitterrand in such matters as nationalization and shortening the work week.

In foreign affairs, the sticking point was almost Poland, which Marchais did not want to mention, but finally agreed to the "wish that the country and its people themselves carry out the economic, social and democratic renewal process." The joint statement called for Soviet withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan, recognized the Camp David agreement, supported the Common Market and expressed solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua.

## Euro-missiles.

The two left parties skirted the potentially thorniest foreign policy question, the Euro-missiles, by calling for international arms negotiations aimed at eventually dismantling the two military blocs, while meanwhile assuring balanced forces. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that neither the PS nor the PCF is yet fully tuned in on the controversy over American missile policy that has been developing in other European countries. Because the U.S. missiles would not be installed on French territory, most French people have not felt directly concerned. On the other hand, there is nervousness about the Soviet SS-20s aimed at France. If an effective anti-missile campaign is to develop in France, it is probably just as well to keep the PCF from leading it, as the PCF's long-standing pro-Soviet bias could only undermine the campaign's credibility.

There was laughter in the television studio when George Marchais called the June 21 elections a "great victory" for him and his party, but in some ways he was correct. All the Communist candidates



left in the running after the devastating first round won in the second. It was a joint victory in that the remaining Communist candidates won with the help of Socialist votes just as Socialist candidates won with Communist votes, basically transferred in both cases. Had Mitterrand not let the PCF into the cabinet, it would have been resented by the Communist voters who made the Socialist landslide possible. Even the defeated French right could think of no good reason not to bring in the PCF except "what will the neighbors think?" The stock market was unperturbed and even went up. The serious objection was the precedent this will set for Italy, where it is going to be practically impossible to go on maintaining the taboo that has kept the Italian Communist Party out of the government. Mitterrand is surely aware of this and has weighed the consequences.

With the strategy toward the PCF described by some as "left unity" and by others as the "kiss of death," Mitterrand is attempting to demystify the Communist question. This is a necessary first step toward healthy politics on the left in

France, as well as toward freeing Europe from the political paralysis in which all choices are defined in terms of the interests of one or the other superpowers.

In 1944, Gen. DeGaulle brought Communists into the government in recognition of their major resistance role. There were five Communist ministers in the French cabinet when the Cold War hit France in May 1947 in the form of debate over Marshall Plan aid. The Communists were thrown out of government in France as in Italy. The PCF then got some 28 percent of the vote. Admired for its heroic resistance to Nazism, cast out as a pariah by the forces of capitalism, the PCF enjoyed an aura of moral absolutism—evil to some, righteousness to others—that set it apart from other ordinary parties. Unable to ally with the PCF, the Socialists could find nothing to do but seek centrist alliances that discredited them as sellouts. As Lionel Cospin said, the center is the Bermuda Triangle of French politics—the spot where people disappear forever. By 1969 the Socialist Party had dwindled to the vanishing point. Its comeback depended on several factors notably the 1971 renewal of the party under Francois Mitterrand which turned away from Bermuda Triangle centrism to the strategy of embracing the Communist pariah.

Another important factor in the demystification of the PCF was May 1968, which created in its wake a powerful if disorganized current of left-wing anti-Communism, a widespread opinion that the PCF was not revolutionary or even particularly left-wing, but rather a main pillar of the established order.

Thus it began to appear to many that the Socialists were not really to the right of the Communists in any meaningful sense. Now reduced to only 16 percent of the vote, bound to policy of the Socialist Party, the PCF is in a state of shock. But its very catastrophe is what has enabled Mitterrand to take the truly historic step of ending the Cold War ban in a mood of undramatic tranquility, as if nothing very unusual were happening.

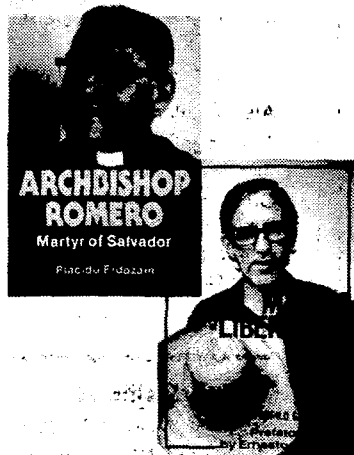
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The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

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Washington, DC 20009

**Citizens Energy Project**  
1110 6th Street, N.W., #300  
Washington, DC 20001

**The Citizens Party of Illinois**  
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603  
Chicago, IL 60602  
(312) 332-2066

**Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy**  
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.  
Washington, DC 20002

**C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities**  
2000 P Street, N.W.  
Suite 413  
Washington, DC 20036

**DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee**  
853 Broadway, Room 801  
New York, NY 10003

**Midwest Academy**  
600 West Fullerton Ave.  
Chicago, IL 60614

**National Center for Economic Alternatives**  
2000 P Street, N.W.  
Suite 200  
Washington, DC 20036

**NAM-New American Movement**  
3244 N. Clark St.  
Chicago, IL 60657

**New Patriot Alliance**  
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305  
Chicago, IL 60604

**Science for the People**  
897 Main Street  
Cambridge, MA 02139

**Socialist Party**  
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201  
Milwaukee, WI 53203

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

### CHICAGO, IL

#### July 10 & 12

Cross Currents presents Cuba's foremost mime troupe, El Teatro Pantomima Cubano, in their first U.S. appearance. In existence for 17 years, the group explores Cuban roots and modern realities. Two performances only. Friday and Sunday at 8:00 p.m. at Cross Currents, 3206 N. Wilton (900 West at Belmont). Tickets are \$6.00/cash bar. For information and reservations, call (312) 472-7778.

#### July 15

The Boycott Blues. Join Eddie Clearwater, Louisiana Red, Carey Bell and Scottie in a benefit for the strike fund of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). Farmworkers are on strike and are boycotting contracts with Campbells and Libbys. At Biddy Mulligans, 7644 N. Sheridan at 8:00 p.m. \$3.50 in advance or \$4.00 at the door. For

more information, call (312) 346-6380.

### HAMMOND, IN

#### July 11

Beer Bust & Dance to raise money for Tony Mazzocchi, candidate for president of OC-AW. At the Calumet Social Club, 1329 Calumet Ave. (1/2 block north of Five Points Road on Calumet Ave.) at 7:30 p.m. Donation \$5.00.

### SAN FRANCISCO, CA

#### July 2-6

The Jewish Film Festival, an alternative collection of award-winning international independent cinema, will take place at the Roxie Cinema, 16th Street and Valencia. Programs include: Israeli New Wave Cinema, Yiddish Culture and Labor, Contemporary Identity. For more information, call (415) 849-2710.

### MILWAUKEE, WI

#### July 29-August 2

1980's: New Opportunities/New Dangers—10th Annual NAM (New American Movement) Convention. Speakers include Roberta Lynch, Michael Harrington, Aqbal Ahmad, Michael Lerner, Heidi Tarver, Barbara Ehrenreich, Carl Marzani, Dorothy Healey. Concert with Kris Leims. Join us at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. For registration information: NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 871-7700.



# CLASSIFIED

## PUBLICATIONS

48 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS. \$3.00. Discovery, Box 20331-ITT, WVC, Utah 84120.

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS—National Weekly. News of Lavender Left; international gay news. Feminist, non-profit. \$6/12 issues. GCN, Dept. INT, 22 Bromfield St., Boston, MA 02108.

FREE SPEECH and racist agitation; when is a word a deed? A respected linguist on free speech. Zionism and the Holocaust—\$2.00. Clarity Press, 175 5th Ave., 1101T, NYC, NY 10010.

CORPORATE CAPTIVITY OF THE Church—32-page book documenting church's ownership by and of corporations. Seven myths about corporations countered. \$2.00 pp. Zachaeus Collective/10, 4527 N. Maiden, Chicago, IL 60640.

FREE SAMPLE: Read the muckraking political newsletter all Washington is talking about. Write the Washington Crap Report, P.O. Box 10309, St. Petersburg, FL 33733.

CONFRONTING REALITY: analysis of recent communist movement's tasks and ultraleft errors, \$3.50. BASOC, P.O. Box 1839, SF, CA 94101.

WORKER'S DEMOCRACY, independent Socialist quarterly. Spring 1981 articles: "The Bureaucratic Class in Human History," also Steel, Women's Liberation, Poland. \$3 for four issues. P.O. Box 24115, St. Louis, MO 63130.

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**EVERY-**thing you heard is true. *Raiders of the Lost Ark* is merciless, unrelenting fun. Indiana Jones, boyish archeologist (Harrison Ford), rescues the lost Ark of the Covenant ("a transmitter to God!!" says one character) from a

horde of Nazis with the help of his trusty native sidekick (John Rhys-Davies) and his intrepid girlfriend (Karen Allen). "I'm glad they're getting back to making entertainment movies," people keep saying. That's the joke, of course. *Raiders* only looks like a return. It's really a consummately sophisticated processing of familiar material, a highly-tooled packaging of naivete—this epoch's top nostalgia item.

*Raiders* is a quantum leap beyond traditional American popular film. American commercial culture has always raided whole chunks of experience and art to give energy and substance to the formulas—look at Westerns, rock'n'roll, country music, soap opera.

But *Raiders*' parts don't come out of anybody's first-hand experience. They are themselves synthetic items. You can amuse yourself later (you won't have time during the movie) tracking the moments and characters that all those spit-and-polish "good parts" come from. An Errol Flynn pose, a *Sierra Madre* Hum-

phrey Bogart flair; Edgar Rice Burroughs, Zane Grey, Rudyard Kipling; *Thief of Baghdad*, *Pepe Le Moko* and of course all those serials.

the global struggle for good because they're armed with virtue. The hero is an entrepreneurial take-charge kind of guy, who guilelessly wipes out all the Nazis with no more than a bullwhip for help. Oh, and God is on his side (wait till you see what the Ark does to the Nazis).

The filmmakers know it's too late to swallow this whole. So they poke us occasionally to let us know it's only a movie. When somebody asks Indy how he'll get out of a tight spot he says, "I dunno, I'm making this up as I go along!" Such good humored self-consciousness is protection from the ugly thought that stereotypes have real-life references.

They also give ironic twists to imperial and racial undertones. The natives are squarely in the background—the doglike devotion of the Egyptian sidekick, the fierce naked Indians, the wild exoticism of eye patches, secret poisons and spy monkeys, of bazaars and dens and crypts.

All this paraphernalia belongs to a simpler era, but also to an era much less shy about expressing racist attitudes.

Again, frank acknowledgement soothes the troubled viewer. Indy, for instance, urges a shootout to his opposite, the French collaborator archeologist, in a packed Egyptian cafe, saying that "These people don't care if we kill each other."

As for looting treasures, the Nazis take the lead so it's OK for the good guys to storm in and cart them away.

And how about the portrayal of women? This is a movie where for want of a man's love a woman goes wrong and, once he returns, she latches on tightly. But Karen Allen plays the part with kamikaze spunkiness; she makes being intrepid look like having an independent goal and the means to achieve it.

#### Hoary myths.

This movie has action that should give heart patients pause, yet it isn't dismally episodic. Why? The firm mythic foundation already laid by all those popular en-

## RAIDERS OF THE LOST ARK is a toy so big that it plays with you.

It's like one of those *I Hate to Cook* Book recipes, where the casserole is made entirely out of processed foodlike items (one can mushroom soup, one bag corn chips, six hot dogs...). It's called dinner, but there's something so chemical about it that you feel you ought to be a vending machine storing it, not a person eating it.

This supercommodity isn't just a movie. Like all blockbusters, it's designed to be lots of commodities—tapes, records, books, posters, toys and, best of all, hype—the commodity that sells all the others.

The toy that works.

In this case the product works—unlike, say, the first *Superman*, where the same marketing wizardry was applied to a turgid product and, infuriatingly, made it big. You can't pretend there wouldn't be a demand for this film without the hard sell. There's even public enthusiasm for the hype—it gives lots of people a safe cult phenomenon.

You can't accuse the filmmakers of cynical manipulation in their processing either. They seem to come by it naturally. Steven Spielberg is a grown man whose entire life experience is either of going to the movies or making them. George Lucas' avowed purpose is to recreate the most amusing distractions of his childhood and not to grow up. No wonder the movie has such a determined disingenuous innocence.

Without these men's sophistication in resisting the implications of their formulas, we might come suddenly up against the dark sides to the themes that fuel the film. In a post-Vietnam, post-Watergate era, this movie sells the notion that Americans are all-powerful in

entertainments on which the movie is built save it. Indy Jones is already there in our minds. Sure he's just a rationalization, but the movie's gentle irony preempts criticism. The hoariest myths of our 20th century empire are back, not to haunt us, but to amuse us.

It's a technique well known in advertising, to call up by symbolic shorthand a set of positive references. (Michael Arlen's intensive look at the "Reach out and touch someone" ads in *30 Seconds* made the process public.) Spielberg and Lucas have become the admen of the movies. They've designed—perhaps "engineered" is better—a collection of advertisements, not for any one movie but for the notion of the Hollywood movie.

The effect is to turn an adventure story into a magnificent, immensely clever toy. The film isn't about relationships, but images, so of course it has no cathartic emotional moments in it—the way many of the films from which it snatches "good parts" did. What these modern Peter Pans don't want to grow up into is exactly messy human interaction (remember the cool emotional tone of *Star Wars*, where the warmest relationship was between two machines). Gadget fun doesn't have the ambiguity that people fun does. This is all-American engineer heaven; full of roller-coaster thrills, it's a toy that plays with you.

People used to worry about movies and TV encouraging violence. But *Raiders* makes you worry about something else, the addictive quality of this kind of entertainment over the generations. The doses of "good parts" gets stronger and stronger, the time between cliffhanging episodes shrinks to nothing. It's a permanent thrill. You wonder whether mechanical fantasy conjures more fantasy, the way one Frito or Crackerjack demands another, as much by the cycle of hunger established by chemicals and sugar as by the pleasure of the taste. ■

By Pat Aufderheide

## Spiders and Snakes and Nazis!

# Oh My!

